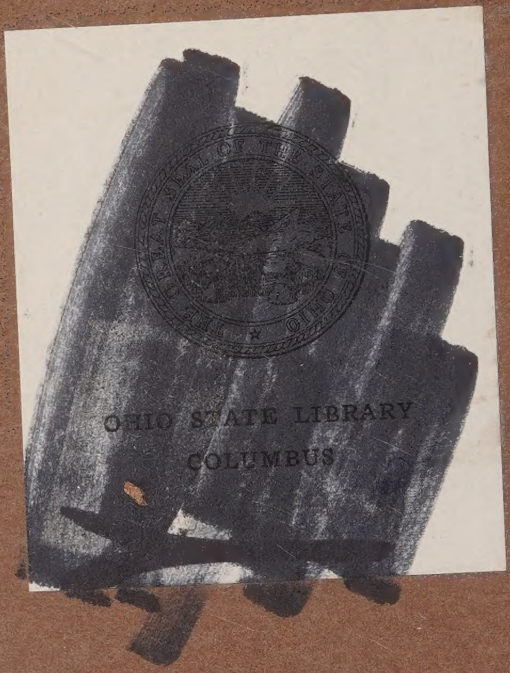
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THE ART OF THE ROMANS

3094

By

H. B. WALTERS

WITH 72 PLATES AND

10 ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

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PREFACE

THE re-awakening of an interest in Roman Art has been one of the most noteworthy features in the progress of Classical Archaeology in recent years. To indicate the principal lines along which this revived study has been pursued, is one aim of the present work; but it is also an endeavour to give a brief survey of the whole sphere of Roman Art in a concise and handy form, a task which hardly seems to have been hitherto attempted. It is impossible to avoid assuming in the reader an acquaintance, however slight, with the history and main features of the Greek Art which preceded that of the Romans in point of time, and to which their debt is so immense; but the fact that a book dealing with that subject has already appeared in this series may be some excuse for such an assumption.

The author desires to express his warmest acknowledgments, not only to the writings of the late Franz Wickhoff, Mrs. Strong, and others whose names appear in the Bibliography, but also to those who have kindly assisted in placing illustrations at his disposal. To Mr. R. Phené Spiers and Mr. Batsford he is indebted for permission to use blocks for Figs. 1, 5, 7, 8, and also for architectural drawings from which Figs. 3, 4 have been reproduced; to the Council of the Hellenic Society for permission to reproduce the two busts in Plate XXIII.; and to Mr. R. H. Forster and the authorities of the Trier Museum for photographs. Thanks are also due to

Messrs. W. A. Mansell and Co. for assistance in regard to many of the photographs, and for others to Messrs. Alinari of Rome and Anderson of Florence. Plate XLI. is borrowed from Mau's illustrations of Pompeian wall-decoration; Plate LXIII. from Toçilesco's restoration of the monument of Adamklissi.

H. B. W

LONDON, *June 1911.*

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THE ART OF THE ROMANS

CHAPTER I

ROMAN ART, ITS ORIGIN AND CHARACTER

Extent of Greek influence—Traces of originality in Roman art—Origin to be sought in Etruria—Early Italian civilization—Etruscan architecture—sculpture—painting—metal-work—Growth of national Roman art—Developments under the Empire.

ELSEWHERE the present writer has endeavoured to give an outline of the history and achievements of Greek art down to the time when Greece was absorbed under Roman dominion. It was then pointed out that the year 146 B.C., when Corinth was captured by Mummius and its numerous works of art destroyed or conveyed to Rome, is usually regarded as a convenient point for drawing a line of demarcation between Greek and Roman art. We therefore now take up the history of art on classical soil at the point where it then left off, and in the succeeding survey propose to carry out the same method in our treatment of the subject, reviewing successively Roman achievements in architecture, sculpture, painting, and the minor arts of gem-engraving, metal-work, and pottery. In a final chapter, something will be said of Roman art in the provinces, more especially with reference to Gaul and Britain.

But in order to understand aright the true character of Roman art, which was obviously no new invention, nor yet an entirely independent creation, it is necessary first to consider how it came into being and to what extent we are entitled to speak of Roman art, as distinct from that of Greece or any other nation. In many respects, indeed, the Romans never were an artistic people. Readers of Virgil's *Aeneid* will recall the famous lines in which the poet

contrasts the genius of his countrymen for conquest and sovereignty, with the more intellectual and contemplative instincts of the Greeks :—

> 'Others, belike, with happier grace
> From bronze or stone shall call the face,
> Plead doubtful causes, map the skies,
> And tell when planets set or rise :
> But, Roman, thou, do thou control
> The nations far and wide :
> Be this thy genius, to impose
> The rule of peace on vanquished foes,
> Show pity to the humble soul,
> And crush the sons of pride.'
>
> (Conington's Transl.).

And his contemporary Horace points out that it was not until the conquest of Greece that art found its way to Italy, and 'captive Greece o'ercame her savage conqueror, and introduced the arts to rustic Latium.'

In all this there is a measure of truth. Virgil's estimate of the dominant characteristics of the two nations is true enough, and Horace is right in noting the remarkable effects of the subjugation of Hellas, which opened a new world to Rome, and infected the conquering race with some of the spirit of the vanquished. In the intellectual sphere it was, as the latter implies, Greece who emerged victorious from the struggle, not Rome. But, at the same time, it must be borne in mind that art was no stranger to Italian soil before the epoch to which allusion has been made. The old idea that Roman art is a mere degenerate and imitative version of Greek was really an inadequate view of the case, and the old school of writers who saw in everything Roman a distorted reflection, not indeed of the best Greek art, but of its worst phases—of the Hellenistic art of Alexandria—must be largely discredited. Greek art was, in fact, always regarded with some contempt by the Romans, except by a few cultured men like Cicero, and its productions were mainly sought for to make a show and suit the luxurious taste of *parvenus*. This the passage just quoted from Virgil shows. 'Leave to the Greek his marble nymphs,' says Macaulay, who was a typical Roman, and to whose Philistine instincts the Virgilian sentiment appealed.

The question of Roman art in its relation to Greek art, is, in

fact, a particularly complicated subject. For, though it is generally admitted that Roman art is immensely indebted to Greek, yet we cannot regard it entirely as a development or direct descendant therefrom. We must not, in the first place, entirely refuse to admit the claim of Roman art to possess any originality. Though some recent writers may have gone too far in urging the merits of Roman sculpture and painting as independent creations, we must still allow that the Romans made some branches peculiarly their own, notably the production of portrait-sculpture, and of a new development in pottery. But the problem still remains, to ascertain the exact extent of their indebtedness to the art of the Greeks.

It is, in any case, difficult to state in a few words. We shall find it more satisfactory to attempt to point out, in dealing with each branch of art separately, what we can discern as representing the Greek spirit and what the purely Roman. But if we turn to Roman literature, we shall find a not unfair analogy. Virgil and Horace for instance, confessedly imitated Greek models, the former in his *Bucolics* and *Georgics* sometimes translating almost word for word, while Horace urged the rising poet to 'con his Greek examples by night and day.' Yet, who shall deny that Virgil is not only an original poet, but a typically Roman one? Again, Horace perfected the art of epistolary writing in verse, and developed that peculiarly Roman product the Satire, which Juvenal afterwards perfected. Propertius claimed to be the Roman Callimachus, but he is almost the most original of all the Augustan writers. It is needless to multiply instances; our object is merely to point out that what may be said of Roman literature may fairly also be said of Roman art, that it is Greek in form but Roman in spirit and character, and that in many respects it is as much original as Greek art, though admittedly standing on a lower plane. But to this question we must return again; meanwhile, we have to look in another direction for the real origin of Roman art.

There was a nation settled in Italy from very early times, some three centuries before the foundation of Rome, to which Rome owed much of her civilization and at one time the whole of her art, and that nation is Etruria. No account of Roman art can now be considered complete which does not take into consideration the part played by Etruria in Italian civilization from prehistoric times, and also the various influences which produced the art of Etruria. And,

therefore, it needs no apology if part of the opening chapter of this work is devoted to an account of the Etruscans, the real forerunners of Roman art.

Tradition traced the origin of the Etruscan race to Lydia in Asia Minor, and in Herodotus' more or less circumstantial account of the settlement of the Tyrrhenians (as the Greeks called them) in Italy, we may discern the kernel of a historical fact—namely, the migration of an Eastern race into the Italian peninsula, either by sea or by land. We know nothing certain about their origin, nothing of their ethnographical affinities, and nothing even of the language they used, except the characters in which it was written; nor have they left any literary records beyond a series of inscriptions, to aid us in the event of the language being interpreted.

But in the sphere of Art there is much to be learned about this people and their culture. The remains which they have left behind cover a fairly long period, extending from about 900 B.C. down to the end of the third century, when they were merged in the spreading wave of Roman conquest and ceased to be an independent people. We may distinguish four component elements of Etruscan art, corresponding to phases in the development of civilization. The first is that of the local indigenous races before the Etruscan immigration; next comes in the Oriental or Tyrrhenian influence; thirdly, the Greek element; and lastly, a second wave of Oriental influence, due partly to the Phoenicians, and in a greater degree to the Ionic Greek colonists of Magna Graecia. These combined to produce the Etruscan art which begins in the seventh century and lasts down to the third. But the subject demands treatment in somewhat greater detail.

(1) The earliest inhabitants of the Italian peninsula of whom we have any trace seem to have been aboriginal, living in Umbria and the basin of the River Po, and their remains show that they were lake-dwellers, hardly one stage removed from the conditions of Neolithic civilization, but content with pottery and weapons of the rudest kind. The traces of an invading nation in Etruria manifest themselves about the tenth century B.C., and it is here that we must place the beginnings of Etruscan civilization, coincident with the ater bronze age of Central Europe.

(2) A convenient classification of the next three stages of Italian

EARLY ETRUSCAN BRONZE BUST, FROM POLLEDRARA TOMB, VULCI
(BRITISH MUSEUM)

history may be made by means of the forms of the tombs, the contents of which have been dated by the character of the pottery and by the forms of *fibulae* or safety-pin brooches, in which a continuous development can be traced. The earliest tombs are in the form of pits or shafts, and contain hand-made pottery of the simplest kind, with geometrical decoration, and large covered cinerary urns. The latter are often in the form of the huts inhabited by the peasants of the time, and many of these have been found in the neighbourhood of Rome. There is an interesting example from Alba Longa in the British Museum, still containing the ashes deposited within.

(3) In the next stage (800-600 B.C.) the tombs are in the form of trenches, and though the pottery exhibits comparatively little advance, we observe a remarkable development in metal-working, more particularly in bronze. At Bologna, Vetulonia, and elsewhere large bronze vessels have been found, decorated in relief with friezes of animals, and of considerable merit. At this period also the first of a long series of Greek importations appear in the tombs, in the shape of Geometrical, and subsequently of Corinthian, vases. The appearance of the latter and of other evidence of influence from this quarter reminds us of the tradition to which Pliny and other writers refer, that when Demaratus was expelled from Corinth in the seventh century he took with him to Etruria certain craftsmen, named Eucheir, Eugrammos, and Diopos, who instructed the inhabitants of that country in various arts.

(4) But towards the end of the seventh century B.C. new influences become apparent, manifested in two directions: Oriental, and Ionic Greek. Henceforward the tombs, it should be noted, take the form of large chambers or corridors, often of great size and adorned with paintings. Some of these tombs, such as the Polledrara or Grotto d'Iside at Vulci and the Regulini-Galassi tomb at Cervetri, have been of special importance to archaeology for the light their contents throw on the art of the time. In the former we find scarabs, carved ostrich-eggs, and other objects from Naukratis in the Egyptian Delta, as well as statuettes of tufa and bronze, in a style of art partly local, partly foreign; and some curious specimens of painted pottery. The latter tomb is chiefly remarkable for its wealth of elaborate metal-work, its ornaments of gold and vessels of bronze.

The next three centuries, from 600 to 300 B.C., cover the period in which Etruscan civilization was at its height, and during which all its most characteristic art was produced. We can now first begin really to trace its continuity with the art of the Romans, and as all remains of this period in Rome are purely Etruscan in origin and character, it will be necessary to survey in some detail the achievements of the Etruscans in the various branches of art.

(1) *Architecture.* In Etruria itself there remains little or nothing to tell us what the architecture of the people was like. They had temples, it is true, but they were not magnificent buildings like those of Sicily or Southern Italy, but small and insignificant. Moreover recent researches have shown that the decoration of these temples was almost entirely the work of Greeks of Ionia, or at any rate

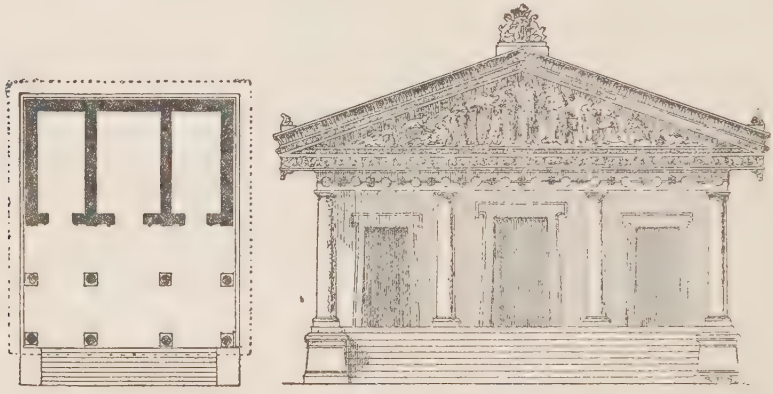


Fig. 1.—Plan and Restored Façade of Etruscan Temple

executed in close imitation of Ionian art. The architect Vitruvius, who wrote in the time of Augustus, gives a description of what he calls a 'Tuscan' temple, from which we learn that they usually had an open front with a colonnade, and instead of a pediment or gable, a sloping roof in the modern style. The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Rome was built in this style by Etruscan architects, and had the peculiarity of three 'naves' or *cellae*, the central one for Jupiter himself, with one on each side for the two other Capitoline deities, Juno and Minerva. (Fig. 1 gives a plan and restoration of the façade of an Etruscan temple).

The most remarkable feature of the architecture of this and of

THE WOLF OF THE CAPITOL

(CONSERVATORI PALACE, ROME)

all other Etruscan temples of which traces or records exist was the general use of terra-cotta for decorative purposes. We know, for instance, that the great chariot surmounting the Capitoline temple was in this material, as was also the statue of Jupiter, which was coloured vermilion, this being solemnly and ceremonially renewed from time to time. Two Etruscan artists, Damophilus and Gorgasus, executed columns in terra-cotta for the temple of Ceres in Rome, and the chariot just mentioned was the work of another, Volca of Veii. Remains of Etruscan architectural details in terra-cotta have been found at Civita Castellana (Falerii,) Conca, Alatri, Luni, and elsewhere; and at the British Museum are remains of a small temple excavated by the late Lord Savile at Civita Lavinia, where all the details are in the same material, richly painted. But in this temple, though the plan was probably Etruscan, the style was throughout purely Greek. A late instance of the use of terra-cotta is in the temple at Luni, the pediments of which had sculptured decoration in this material; the figures are rather of Hellenistic than Italian style, and the work probably dates from the first century B.C.

Existing remains of Etruscan architecture are practically limited to walls and gates of cities, and tombs. In many Tuscan towns may be seen walls of 'Cyclopean' masonry,[1] such as is found in prehistoric buildings in Greece, with irregular courses of huge stones unmortared; from this a development can be traced to the *opus quadratum* or ashlar-work of the Romans. The gateways of Falerii, Volaterrae, and other towns give us examples of the arch and vault which were destined to become such a prominent feature of Roman architecture. Many of the tombs are of great interest, owing not only to their size and structural arrangements, but also to the plastic and pictorial decoration lavished upon them, and the objects they have contained. The best examples are at Corneto and Chiusi.

(2) *Sculpture.* The Etruscans have left us but little remains of sculpture, and this is almost exclusively in bronze or terra-cotta. Most of the earlier bronze work found in Etruria is now regarded by scholars as really Ionic Greek, either imported from Asia Minor

[1] Illustrations are given in Dennis's *Etruria* (2nd edn.) and in Seymour's *Up Hill and Down Dale in Etruria* (1910). A good instance is at Cortona.

or produced by Greek craftsmen in the Ionic colonies of Magna Graecia, such as Cumae, with which the Etruscans had at all times close commercial relations. The same, as already noted, applies to relief-work in terra-cotta. A notable instance of Etruscan bronze sculpture in the round is a bronze bust found in the Polledrara tomb at Vulci (Plate I.). It represents a woman, and is possibly intended for a portrait, but the style and execution are of the rudest, the bust being formed of plates of bronze soldered together, as in the earliest Greek work in this material. But below the waist is a pedestal surrounded with plates ornamented in relief, the style of which is clearly Greek, showing affinities with the earlier specimens of Ionic art.

Etruscan sculpture, so far as we know it, always exhibits a combination of two tendencies: the influence of archaic Greek art, and an inherent passion for naturalism. The former was, however, modified in some degree by the successive influences of later developments; but it is well exemplified, for instance, in such works as the 'Mars' of Todi in the Vatican, the 'Chimaera' at Florence, which was partly restored by Benvenuto Cellini in 1554,[1] and the 'Wolf of the Capitol' in the Conservatori Palace at Rome (Plate II.), all these being works in bronze. These are both excellent works of their kind, admirable in technique; but they do not rank as typically Etruscan for the reason indicated, that they are deliberate imitations of Greek work. It is the tendency to naturalism which forms the salient characteristic of all the native work, and which is such an essentially Italian quality, that it holds its own all through the history of later classical art, the heritage of Rome from Etruria.

Hence it is not surprising that portraiture was from the first, as already suggested in the case of the Polledrara bust, a branch of plastic art which appealed to this people much more than it did to the idealizing Greeks. The desire to reproduce individual characteristics becomes so strong, that inspiration and elegance are entirely wanting. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that in many cases the results are entirely satisfactory. Among the series of bronzes found near the lake of Falterona, now in the British Museum, is a life-like head of a bearded man, clearly Etruscan and not Greek in style, and equally clearly intended for a portrait. This

[1] See his *Autobiography* (ed. Symonds, 1896), p. 402.

BRONZE STATUE OF AULUS METILIUS (THE 'ARRINGATORE') IN FLORENCE

ETRUSCO-ROMAN WORK, END OF THIRD CENTURY B.C.

head belongs to the fourth century B.C., a time when Etruscan art had reached its height. Another excellent piece of work, of somewhat later date, is the bronze statue of the orator Aulus Metilius in the Archaeological Museum at Florence, found in 1566, near Lake Trasimene (Plate III.). It dates from about the end of the third century. As a portrait, says Amelung, it is excellent, and with the eyes intact the expression must have been most life-like. The execution is very careful, and it is an extremely truthful copy of nature, with all the dryness of the original, and while quite devoid of poetry, yet not without life. Though not purely Etruscan, it is not purely Roman, but an interesting example of transition.

Another direction which the Etruscan love of portraiture takes is exemplified in their funeral customs. It was their practice from quite an early period to place the ashes of their dead in terra-cotta vessels, which were either themselves modelled in human form, or else took the shape of sarcophagi or coffins with an effigy of the deceased on the cover. This practice was doubtless derived in the first instance from Egypt, where representations of the deceased were modelled on the outside of the mummy-cases; but it became a recognized custom in Etruria. The first-named class of monuments show a remarkable artistic development. The earliest examples are mere covered jars or urns with rudely-modelled faces on the cover and rudimentary arms attached; gradually the plastic principle gains the upper hand, and the heads become more naturally treated, until finally the vase-idea is lost, and they become complete human effigies, with an intentional, if not successful, likeness to the deceased, placed in a sitting posture on the receptacle for the ashes.

In the sarcophagi there is no such development, the effigy of the deceased being found completely modelled in the round in the very earliest examples. Some notable specimens, dating from about the sixth century, may be seen in the museums of Italy and the Louvre, and there is a very famous example in the British Museum from Cervetri, in which a married pair recline on a richly-decorated sarcophagus, modelled in a rude, almost primitive, yet by no means conventional style. In the third and second centuries there seems to have been a revival of the fashion, and there are numerous examples of small rectangular coffers in stone and terra-cotta with

effigies sculptured on the top; they are usually richly coloured, and the front of the coffer is adorned with reliefs. There are in existence two or three exceptionally fine specimens in terra-cotta belonging to the second century, one of which, from Cervetri, is in the British Museum (Plate IV.). The sarcophagus contains the bones of a lady named Seianti Thanunia (as an inscription indicates); and on its lid is an effigy of this person, almost above life-size, richly coloured and adorned with much jewellery. The physiognomy is almost that of a typical 'Roman matron,' and as the date of this work is not earlier than 150 B.C., it has claims to be regarded—were it not for the Etruscan inscription and the non-Latin name—as a presentment of a Roman lady of the period.

We have dwelt at some length on this tendency of Etruscan sculpture, to run in the direction of realistic portraiture, because it will be seen that it was just this branch of art which the Romans subsequently made peculiarly their own, and in which they most excelled; and it is clear that they inherited the faculty from their Etruscan ancestors rather than from their Greek foster-fathers. The ideality of Greek art was entirely a sealed book to both the former peoples, and they apparently recognized their limitations, and confined themselves to that for which their talents were really suited.

(3) *Painting.* The circumstance, fortunate for us, that the Etruscans were in the habit of adorning the walls of their tombs with fresco-paintings, places us in a better position for judging of their achievements in this line than those of the Greeks. At Vulci, Corneto, Veii, and elsewhere, large numbers of Etruscan paintings have been preserved in this way. Some very early examples were found in the Campana tomb at Veii, with rude figures of animals. Of later date, and much more advanced style, are some painted terra-cotta slabs now in the British Museum and the Louvre. These are of the sixth century B.C., but the greater number of tomb-paintings belong to the fifth and fourth centuries. As is the case with the sculpture, these paintings are largely modelled on archaic Greek art, particularly on the vase-paintings. The subjects fall into three classes. Some are of a funereal character; others illustrate the somewhat gloomy mythology of the people, depicting Charun, a savage and repulsive death-deity, or other monsters; many scenes

[SARCOPHAGUS OF SEIANTI THANUNIA

(BRITISH MUSEUM)

again are taken from daily life, representing banquets, dances, and other events in which the deceased had taken part on earth. From them we may derive much information as to the costume, manners and customs, and religious beliefs of the Etruscan people. More remarkable than all the frescoes is a marble sarcophagus from Corneto at Florence, the sides of which are painted with panels in *tempera*, representing a battle of Greeks and Amazons. The colours are extraordinarily vivid and bright, and the style is so far Greek as to lead us to suppose that the paintings were actually executed by Greek workmen.

These paintings, however, valuable and instructive as they are, do not find any echo in subsequent Roman art. Roman painting, as we shall see, is descended directly from Greek, and most of the paintings at Pompeii and Herculaneum, where we find the best and most important remains, must be the work of Greek artists resident in those cities. The Etruscan paintings, though full of the Greek spirit, and in many respects exhibiting Etruscan art at its highest, are an entirely independent development. In decorative painting as applied to vases, they attempted at times to imitate the Greek wares with which they were familiar from importations, but in all cases have signally failed. In these, in fact, we see Etruscan art at its worst.

(4) *Metal-work and gem-engraving.* In these minor branches of art the Etruscans more nearly rivalled the Greeks, though their lack of taste and the repulsive conceptions of their gloomy religious beliefs mar the effect of much that is otherwise good. But in technical skill they were fully the equals of the more artistic race, and some of their works, for instance the engraved bronze mirrors, almost surpass anything that the Greeks have left us. As regards engraved gems, the earlier specimens—the scarabs of the sixth and fifth centuries—are skilfully designed and executed, and display an extensive repertory of mythological subjects; but they rapidly deteriorate, and Etruscan gems of the third century exhibit a degeneration only equalled by the painted pottery. Similarly the gold-work becomes coarse, over-loaded, and tasteless, and the engraved mirrors more and more careless in execution and monotonous in conception.

These are all forms of art which seem to have had little attrac-

tion for the Romans, or else they turned their attention to new developments, such as cameos and chased silver vases. But we have evidence that the Etruscan craftsmen sometimes employed Roman workmen, or trained them in their art; for one of the finest and most famous examples of engraving on bronze which they or any other nation ever produced—the Ficoroni *cista* in Rome (Fig. 2)—bears on its cover the name of a Roman, Novios Plautios.

Fig. 2.—The Ficoroni Cista

This work of art is a cylindrical box or coffer of bronze, of a type much affected by the Etruscans, and apparently made by them specially for the town of Praeneste in Latium, where the greater number, including the present example, have been found. It stands on three feet in the form of lion's claws resting on frogs, which are joined to the body by plates on which are figures of Eros, Herakles, and Iolaos. The handle is formed by a group of Dionysos and two Satyrs. On the lid are engraved animals and spirited hunting scenes. The principal subject, engraved round the body of the *cista* between two bands of effective ornamental patterns, is the story of the landing of the Argonauts in the country of Amykos, the king of the Thracian Bebrykes. Their object was to obtain water, which Amykos forbade them to do, whereupon Pollux challenged him to a boxing-match, and having vanquished him, bound him to a tree. The latter episode is vividly and picturesquely portrayed, Victory crowning the successful hero, with whom are grouped Castor and other Argonauts, and several deities. Beyond are the ship Argo and members of the crew amusing themselves or drawing water from

a brook. The drawing is of extraordinary grace and merit, and full of life, the whole composition showing great skill. We should not hesitate to assign it to a Greek artist, but that certain details betray an Italian origin, and point to the conclusion that he was either an Italian trained by Greeks or a Greek settled in Italy. Mommsen thought that he was a Campanian working at Rome. In any case the feet and handle are in a different style and unquestionably Italian. We do not of course know which part of the work was due to Novios Plautios, and the differences of style forbid us to suppose that he was the author of the whole. The date is about the end of the third century B.C. We have also an instance of an engraved mirror with Latin inscriptions of about the same date. This was formerly in the collection of Count Tyszkiewicz, and is now in the British Museum. The style is poor and careless, but the subject is an unusual one for the period, when most of the mirrors were only decorated with meaningless and roughly executed figures; it represents a girl and a young man playing at draughts or some similar game, and the former saying *Devincam te*, 'I shall beat you,' to which the other replies *Opinor*, 'I think so.' It is not unusual to find Latin inscriptions on the later Greek pottery of Southern Italy.

(5) *Pottery.* The local pottery of Etruria, though of no special artistic merit, yet deserves some mention, on account of the influence which it undoubtedly had on that of the Roman period. It is a noteworthy fact that the great centre for the manufacture of pottery in the first century B.C. was Arretium, a city in Etruria, where the traditions of the past were naturally strong. In nearly all the local pottery of Etruria, and most especially in the *bucchero*, or polished black ware with reliefs, which forms its most characteristic development, the prevailing feature is the imitation of metal-work; and this, as we shall see in chapter VII., is above all the salient principle of the Arretine ware, as of other varieties of later Greek and Roman pottery. This *bucchero* ware is also remarkable from a technical point of view, being not merely black on the surface, but throughout the whole thickness of the ware. This was apparently produced by what is known as 'fumigating,' the vases being subjected to the action of smoke in a closed or 'smother' kiln; and a similar process was sometimes employed for Roman pottery, especially in the local wares of Britain (p. 175).

Rome indeed owed a debt to Etruria which was not confined to its artistic achievements. Etruscan religious rites, Etruscan skill in building and engineering, and other developments of four hundred years of a flourishing civilization all left their mark on the younger nation in what has been described as 'a groundwork of Italian ruggedness.' Under the Kings and the early Republic no art was known at Rome but the Etruscan. To it architecture owes the arch and the vault, the Tuscan order and planning of temples, and the types of houses and tombs. To the same source the Romans owed their realistic tendencies in sculpture, especially in portraits, and much in their minor arts. Thus on the earlier civilization they built another, on which was subsequently impressed another stamp, that of Hellenic culture, derived in the first instance from Ionia and subsequently from Athens. But all their imitations of Greek models are stamped with their own individuality, with a certain rough vigour, a fidelity to life and contempt for the abstract and typical, which is not Hellenic, but 'racy of the soil.'

The change was largely brought about by the Punic Wars, which gave a great impetus to the development of Rome, but was also partly due to the concurrent decay of Etruria and to the contact with Greece which was daily growing closer. Henceforward the story of Roman art is the story of the blending of two apparently opposite principles, the artificiality of later Hellenistic culture, and the realism of native Italian art, from which combination, when finally achieved, sprang the practical yet sumptuous art of the Roman Empire. The types of Roman edifices, the characteristics of Roman sculpture and painting, may be Etruscan, or may be a direct derivation from Hellenistic Greek art, but regarded as a whole they are a new creation, stamped with the genius of the Roman people. From the Eastern source they derived orders of architecture, painting and mosaic, a feeling for plastic elegance and beauty—in fact, all artistic inspiration; but their portraits, their reliefs, and their equestrian statues are creations of a genuinely national art, even if the technique and modelling are Greek; national too are their triumphal arches and historical monuments, and the main structural elements of their architecture. Greek ideals and methods penetrated slowly, and were never completely absorbed by the spirit of Roman art.

Roman art is then of double origin, not merely of native

development, nor merely imported or imitative. Of the latter there is of course much, at Pompeii for instance, which was yet only a third-rate town; and the art of the Augustan age is in some measure a culmination of the Hellenistic period. But this Hellenistic spirit has been transformed and moulded to produce a purely national art, which if it cannot be accorded the high place that some recent writers have claimed for it, as standing at the head of the mediaeval and even of the modern lines of development, is yet worthy of more consideration than it has received in the past. A German writer has said that 'there was in the art of the Roman Empire a development along the ascending line, and not merely a decadence, as is universally believed.' Confronted with what we see of Roman artistic products in the third and fourth centuries of the Empire, we cannot accept this statement without some qualification, but we may agree with his English critic who admits that 'he is right in his endeavour to trace the definite artistic intention of each period, and to prove that the transformation of art is not mere decadence but a search for new paths.'[1] Thus we shall see that the Augustan age was a period of naturalism combined with eclecticism, in which the native and the exotic principles strove for the mastery; that the former triumphed in the succeeding or Flavian period, as, for instance, in the contemporary portraits and in the later paintings of Pompeii; that under Hadrian there was an archaistic reaction, in which Greek and even Egyptian models were freely imitated. Finally, with Marcus Aurelius, whose reign, says Renan, 'was the end of the ancient world,' a decadence set in, which fostered by the military convulsions and general decay of the Empire in the two succeeding centuries, expired in the mechanical and almost barbaric art of the distant provinces. In provincial art, ornament becomes the principal factor, and this tendency spread to such an extent, that even figures became mere forms of ornament, as in the pottery of Gaul. We also observe a total disregard of other conditions imposed by material and technique, and, in short, a gradual disintegration and dethronement of classical principles which everywhere accompanied the disruption of the Roman Empire.

In recent years there arose a great champion of Roman art, in the person of a German artist and art-critic, the late Herr Wickhoff,

[1] *Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1906, p. 113.

to whose theories we shall constantly have occasion to refer in the course of this work, and even those who cannot accept them are bound to reckon with them. His especial merit was that he approached the questions from the point of view of the artist rather than the archaeologist, and even if his enthusiasm was apt to lead him astray, it must be admitted that the freshness of his views, and his freedom from the prejudices of the trained archaeologist, go far to carry with them conviction. Without here discussing his views in detail it may be profitable to give an outline of them as bearing on the subject in its general aspect.

He begins by pointing out that during the four centuries subsequent to the conventional limit of the Greek period (146 B.C.) art was not at a standstill. This is confirmed, for instance, by the invention of the arch and other new architectural developments, as in the dome of the Pantheon, and the triple vaulting of the basilica of Constantine. It is also unquestionably true of portraiture. Single motives may be borrowed from Greece, but the general effect is not Hellenistic; nay rather, it is *modern*, and Roman art really stands at the head of the mediaeval line of development. In this he will be seen to agree with Riegl, the writer just quoted above. In Roman reliefs, statues, and busts, especially those of the second and third centuries, he perceives a system of 'illusionism,' which differs from modern 'illusionism' or impressionism in method, but adopts the same means of expression. They may be compared with the works of Rubens, of Franz Hals, or of Velasquez.

In the landscapes and *genre*-scenes of the Augustan sculpture and painting, the detailed execution is only explicable by assuming the existence of clay models, based on a careful study of nature. Hence some of the reliefs show technical peculiarities, which are common to the chased work of the silversmith, which was also produced from clay models. All this goes to suggest the employment of Greek craftsmen, who were familiar with such work; but if Greece supplied the technical skill, it was Rome that was the master-spirit. 'The Romans,' says Viollet-le-Duc, 'found the Greeks to be superior executants,[1] but in employing them for the decoration of

[1] *Cf.* the words of Trajan, who, when writing to Pliny in Bithynia, says: 'You need have no lack of skilled architects. There is no province where experienced and talented men are lacking; only do not think it simpler to send such out from Rome, seeing that they usually come from Greece to us.' (*Ep.* 40).

monuments never allowed them to be more than workmen. The general disposition of his monuments, and technical processes, the Roman decided for himself.' In the post-Augustan period, as Italian artists increased in number, they crowded out the exotic Hellenistic style, being more in harmony with the Roman character. The rapid growth of 'illusionism' in this period is the result of preparatory work by the imitative naturalistic school of the Augustan age, which bridged over the gulf between Greek and Latin culture.

It was the Romans, too, who solved the problem of winning for art the manifold variety of nature. The advance is no less great than was that of the vault on the ordinary roof. The Roman principle of ornamentation worked virtually with the same effect as the Japanese in our day, introducing illusionism into modern art, and putting an end to conventionalism.

In contradistinction to Wickhoff, who regards Rome as the source of all art, during the first two centuries of the Empire at least, a more recent writer, Prof. Strzygowski, has endeavoured to show that this is not true of the East, but that we have there a direct continuation of Hellenic art, untouched by Western influences. But his theories, on which we shall have more to say in later chapters, are of partial application only, and might be accepted if he did not attempt to prove too much. His main object being to trace the origin of Christian art, he would deny to Rome all her due share, and thereby shows a deficient sense of proportion. If, like Wickhoff, he had begun by studying Roman art in its most characteristic and obvious phases, he could hardly have maintained as he does that it was a mere episode, a degenerate development of Hellenism, overwhelmed in the long run by the undying forces of the East. 'Hellas and Rome are smothered in the Orient's embrace.' With the question whether Rome or the East contributed the greater share to the formation of Christian art, we are not here concerned; but it is not necessary to deny that in the East, whether in Asia Minor or in Syria, the torch of Hellenic art may have been kept alight all through the period of the Roman Empire, and that the decay of the latter and the spread of Christianity rekindled its flame.

CHAPTER II

ROMAN ARCHITECTURE

Early architecture of Rome—Etruscan influence—Roman architectural achievements — Methods of construction and materials—Use of the classical orders—Roman temples—Forums and basilicae—Theatres and baths—Triumphal arches—Domestic and palatial architecture.

THE early architecture of Rome was, as we have seen in our Introductory chapter, purely Etruscan, and the work of Etruscan architects who were commissioned for the purpose. But all traces of these earlier buildings have now disappeared, owing to the extensive reconstruction of all Roman buildings which took place under Augustus and his successors, when the Romans had become familiar with the forms of Greek architecture, and learned how to combine them with the old Italian methods of construction, or in the light of new knowledge to dispense with the latter altogether. Hence we have nothing but literary records to depend upon for our knowledge of the character of such buildings as the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. On the other hand, the round Temple of Vesta in the Forum, which dates from the time of Septimius Severus, was reconstructed more than once exactly on the old lines of Numa's original erection.

There are also not a few temples which preserved some of the essential features of Etruscan or Tuscan architecture, such as the triple *cella*; the raised base or *podium* on which the temple was built, and the prominence given to the front portico. By a sort of compromise, this was combined with the typically Greek feature of the peristyle or surrounding colonnade, but the Tuscan details of the columns and entablature were replaced by adaptations of the Greek orders. 'Roman temples,' says Signor Carotti, 'are Etruscan or Italian buildings in Greek dress.' The temple of Ceres near the Circus Maximus, erected in 493 B.C., by Etruscan architects, was

IONIC TEMPLE OF FORTUNA VIRILIS (SO-CALLED), ROME

in the so-called Tuscan style, with terra-cotta decoration by the artists Gorgasus and Damophilus. Similarly, the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, when first erected in 509 B.C., was constructed by Etruscan architects on the Etruscan plan, and had a triple *cella* with a wide portico, the roof being adorned with a chariot in terra-cotta, concerning the making of which Plutarch tells a curious story. Owing to some misadventure in the baking of the clay the chariot swelled to such a size, that it could not be removed from the kiln without destroying its walls and roof; and this was taken as an omen presaging the future grandeur of Rome. Rebuilt by Sulla in 82 B.C., this temple probably preserved its old plan, as is indicated on coins and reliefs, and the entablature was still of wood with ornamentation in terra-cotta. It was, however, burnt, and again rebuilt in A.D. 70 by Vespasian, and in A.D. 80 by Domitian, finally assuming the form known as hexastyle peripteral, with marble Corinthian columns. It is so depicted on the column of Marcus Aurelius (p. 83).

Another form of temple, which was adopted under the later Republic, was that known as prostyle pseudoperipteral, with a portico in front, the columns along the sides and at the back being 'engaged' in the walls, not detached. A good example exists in the Temple of Fortuna Virilis (Plate v.), erected in 78 B.C.; it has four columns on the front, and engaged half-columns at the sides and back, and is in the Ionic style. The exterior is still almost perfect, owing perhaps to the fact that it was converted into a church. The only other existing building of the Republican period is the Tabularium, built against the Capitoline Hill overlooking the Forum; it was the Record Office of Rome, and was erected in 78 B.C., of peperino. Both these buildings are typical of the architecture of the time, in which the orders of architecture are employed in a purely decorative way, merely to enrich the wall-surface. The public buildings of this period depended rather on the excellence of their masonry than on their decorative treatment for their artistic effect.

The Romans in their earlier buildings aimed at modifying the principles learned from the Etruscans on practical lines. It is with their architecture as with the other arts; they were not inventive geniuses, nor on the other hand were they mere copyists, but everything they produced was stamped with the mark of their

individuality. In one respect, moreover, they may claim a unique distinction, namely, in their invention of the entirely new principle of the constructional arch, which was destined subsequently to develop into the mediaeval system. This discovery also enabled them to substitute vaults for flat roofs, and so to cover great spaces with more facility; and the success they achieved in this direction entitles them to a high place in our estimation as architects. The actual construction of the vault was indeed known to the Etruscans, who may have learned it from Assyria, and may be seen in the Cloaca Maxima, dating from the time of Tarquin. But it was only employed by them to a limited extent, more especially in their tombs and other subterranean structures. At Rome, in Republican times, the only known examples of vaulting are plain barrel-vaults, such as we see in the Tabularium; but a steady development in skill and boldness of construction may be observed in the Imperial period, in which the dome of the Pantheon stands out as a conspicuous landmark, leading up to the astonishing structures of the Baths of Caracalla.

Viewed as a whole, the greatness of Roman architecture consists, it has been said, not in its formal completeness, but in its solution of great constructive problems, and in the development of building in a vertical direction. Herein we see that it was paving the way for mediaeval, and more particularly for Gothic, architecture. Vaulting, for instance, continued to be developed after other arts had sunk into mediocrity, and in this respect the basilica of Constantine is a great advance on earlier attempts. In fact, throughout the history of Rome, we see that the peculiar genius of this people always found its most congenial field in architectural construction. Roman architecture has been described as 'the most conspicuous and characteristic example of the splendid and practical Roman genius.'

Towards the end of the Republic, when the Romans began to be familiar with the architecture of Greece, they adopted its general principles much as they had formerly those of Etruria. But the differences they thought fit to make are significant. Their entablatures, though Greek in general form, are treated with great freedom, and even caprice, in marked contrast to Greek formality. The Doric column is left unfluted, and rests on a base, two innovations unheard of in Greek buildings, and the capitals are thin and insig-

nificant. In the Ionic style the Romans adhered more closely to their models; but, in point of fact, neither of these two orders was ever popular at Rome. It was the Corinthian order, invented but never generally adopted by the Greeks, which was destined to become the typical style in Roman architecture. Even in this we see much greater freedom, both of detail and arrangement, as in the greatly-enriched capitals, the object being not so much that the forms shall correspond to the construction as to give scope for decoration.

Thus by degrees the function of the column and its entablature becomes merely decorative, and they are employed as brackets for the support of vaulting, or even to ornament a blank exterior wall, as in the case of such buildings as the Colosseum. The whole Roman constructional system tended to revolutionize architectural decoration; and hence this most unexpected development of the pseudoperipteral temple with its series of engaged columns which originally served a structural purpose. In Greek architecture not only the column and its entablature but every ornamental part formed an essential part of the structure; in Roman even the former, as has been noted, become purely subsidiary and decorative. Hence it is that so many ruined Roman buildings present to us a bare appearance in spite of their durability; the actual building remains complete, but its ornamentation, being, so to speak, detachable, whether marble facing or façades of columns with their entablatures, is wholly gone.

Another point of difference between Greece and Rome was that the Greek architects devoted their energies chiefly to their temples, and had only simple problems of construction with which to grapple, such as that of the roofing. The Romans, on the other hand, regarded their secular public buildings as of equal importance with their temples, and in the construction of the former a much greater variety of plan and detail was necessarily involved. In the roofing they had not only to think of covering the comparatively narrow spaces between the walls and columns of their temples, but they had to deal with large circular or rectangular spaces, as in the baths and basilicae, where closely adjacent columns were impossible. Hence the introduction of the system of vaulting which we have noted as one of the chief merits of their architecture, and which they so successfully combined with the horizontal principle. To

facilitate this new method of construction they introduced the use of concrete with brick facing, which material, as we shall see, they treated with conspicuous success. Their vaulting was of three kinds: semicircular barrel-vaults, quadripartite vaulting formed by the intersection of two barrel-vaults, and domical vaulting as in the Pantheon.

The baths and similar buildings gave the Romans scope for evolving elaborate systems of arrangement of rooms, in a way which had never been attempted by the Greeks, who were limited both horizontally and vertically by their systems of entablatures. Hence, where we have a group of connected buildings in Greece, as at the shrine of Asklepios at Epidauros, each one is separate and complete in itself, whereas a Roman building might combine temples, baths, halls, and basilicae practically under one roof. The culmination of this principle was to be seen in the huge Aurea Domus or Golden House of Nero, to build which whole streets and blocks were destroyed; but it may also be observed in the aggregation of Imperial Fora on the north side of the old Forum, in the palaces on the Palatine, and in the villa of Hadrian at Tivoli. In the provinces we have finally the astounding remains of Baalbec and the palace of Diocletian at Spalato. Roman buildings were thus capable of indefinite extension horizontally; and in a vertical direction this was also true to some extent. The Greek theatre was only cut out of the hillside; but the Roman theatre was entirely isolated, and by means of vaulting under the tiers of seats and superimposed rows of arcading round the exterior its walls might rise to an enormous height. A typical instance is of course the Colosseum.

A few words on the building materials and methods of construction employed in Rome may not be out of place, and may serve to illustrate the versatility and ingenuity of their constructive genius.

During the earliest period of Roman history almost the only material employed was the local tufa, varying in colour from brown to yellow, and in quality from the softness of sand to the hardness of Bath oolite. From the earliest times it was found necessary to protect it by a coating of stucco. Another local stone, also of volcanic origin, was a conglomerate known as *lapis Albanus* or

peperino, which is found in the Servian wall and the Cloaca Maxima. The Tabularium below the Capitol is faced with a variety of this, known as *lapis Gabinus*, which was much more durable. Travertine, or *lapis Tiburtinus*, was quarried at Tibur (Tivoli), and is a kind of limestone, of a creamy colour, and very hard; the most conspicuous instance of its use is in the exterior of the Colosseum. The concrete which forms the core of almost all the walls and vaults of later Roman buildings was composed of flint and *pozzolana*, a kind of sandy earth, which, when mixed with lime, forms a cement of extraordinary strength and durability, 'contributing more than any other material,' says Professor Middleton, 'to make Rome the proverbially "eternal" city.'

We must also note the important part played by clay, in the form of bricks or tiles, in the buildings of Rome. Down to the time of Augustus sun-dried bricks only were in use, but in Imperial times the employment of flat-baked bricks, of rectangular or triangular form—they are, more accurately speaking, tiles—became general. They are only used as facing to concrete walls, and solid brick construction is almost unknown; the triangular tiles are used for walls, the rectangular for arches and vaults, and also for supporting floors over hypocausts or heating-chambers. These tiles are usually stamped with the name of their maker or the pottery, and sometimes with the names of emperors or consuls.

Marble came into use at Rome in the first century B.C., and was regarded at first as a great luxury. In the time of Augustus it became more general, and hence the boast of that emperor that he found a Rome of brick (*i.e.* sun-dried) and left one of marble. But this may not imply more than that it was largely used in his time in the form of thin slabs covering the brick walls by way of decoration. Besides the white marbles of Luna or Carrara and those imported from Greece, coloured varieties were frequently used, such as the yellow Numidian marble or *giallo antico*, the greenish-white Euboean or *cipollino*, the crimson Phrygian or *pavonazetto*, and the two varieties known as *verde* and *rosso antico*. Basalt, granite, and porphyry were largely imported from Egypt under the Empire. These hard coloured marbles were chiefly used for columns.

Roman methods of construction, as applied to walls, were twofold: *opus quadratum*, or solid masonry of rectangular blocks, and concrete faced with stone or brick. The former is chiefly found in

the early work of the prehistoric and Republican periods, in the buildings of tufa and peperino; it is also of course employed with the later travertine. Concrete walls were faced with bricks or stone arranged in various ways at different periods, or else they were left unfaced and covered with thin linings of marble or stucco. During the time of the Republic, a method of facing known as *opus incertum* was used, the concrete being covered with small pyramids of tufa, the points of which were inserted into it so that the flat bases formed a smooth exterior surface. In the first century B.C. this was replaced by the method known as *opus reticulatum*, which lasted down to the time of Hadrian. The principle is the same as before, except that the tufa blocks are symmetrically cut and placed close together, so as to form a reticulated pattern on the surface. Good examples of this work may be seen in the house of Livia and other buildings on the Palatine. About the same time brick-facing with square or oblong tiles was introduced, the earliest example being in the Rostra in the Forum (44 B.C.), and this was sometimes combined with the reticulated work. The method known as *opus mixtum*, in which walls were built of alternate courses of tile and stone became very common in the last centuries of the Empire, and is familiar to us from its frequent use in the walls of Roman Britain (see p. 170).

At Pompeii the methods of construction employed will be found to correspond in an interesting manner to the four periods of mural decoration defined in a later chapter (p. 98). The second century B.C. was, as at Rome, the period of building in tufa, which was covered with stucco for decorative purposes. Buildings of this type are the Basilica and the temples of Jupiter and Apollo, in which we find, in spite of good proportions, a tendency to superficial ornament and indiscriminate blending of the three Greek orders, Doric columns with Ionic or Corinthian capitals. Of the second period (80-30 B.C.) little remains, and it has indeed no special characteristics beyond some peculiarities of construction, such as facing with quasi-reticulate work.

The third period (30 B.C.-63 A.D.) represents the gradual transition from the simplicity of the Augustan period to the luxury of the Flavian, also reflected in the mural decoration. It is chiefly marked by the general introduction of marble in the early years of the Empire; but here again it is not so much entire buildings that

we meet with as scattered details or varieties of construction which obviously belong to this period. Buildings of the fourth style (63-79 A.D.) on the other hand are, says Professor Mau, easily recognisable from their similarity in style and ornament.

Before describing the typical examples of Roman architecture it is necessary to devote a few words to the discussion of their use of the various Orders in these buildings. It must be borne in mind that in the Roman period, as also in a less degree in Greece, the use of the different styles was not successive, nor the result of a development, as was the case with Gothic architecture in England. Even in Greece the preference for one style over the other was partly due to local instincts, partly to association or the trend of fashion. So at Rome, though generally speaking Doric and Ionic buildings are earlier than Corinthian, this was chiefly due to the fact that the last-named appealed more to Roman taste, especially in Imperial times. The other two are more generally found outside Rome: Doric at Pompeii, carrying on the traditions of Magna Graecia and Sicily, and in Syria and North Africa; Ionic in Asia Minor, as at Aphrodisias and Aizani, where again it was really a survival of the old local preferences. The Tuscan style is not strictly speaking a distinct order, its entablature being only of wood and terra-cotta; it is only distinguished by the form of the capital, and the column is an Italianized variety of the Doric, with a base, but unfluted. It was employed during the Republic, being suited to the character of the Romans of that time. Other modifications of the Doric and Ionic styles at Rome were dictated by the extreme simplicity of the one, and the scope for variety given by the other.

We find the Doric or Tuscan order used in the Tabularium and the theatre of Marcellus in the first century B.C., and in the Colosseum in the succeeding century, but in all cases only in the form of decorative engaged columns on the exterior arcades. As the heaviest of the three orders it was appropriated to the lowest storey. In these the capital is seen to have degenerated greatly from the bold swelling of the Greek *echinus* down to a feeble quarter-round outline. A better example, though its date is uncertain, is the temple of Hercules at Cora in Latium, with a purity of design which is almost Greek. It may be due to the impetus given to architecture in Italy in the time of Sulla. Of Ionic

architecture there are good examples at Rome in the temples of Saturn and Fortuna Virilis (see above, p. 19), as well as the arcades of the buildings just quoted. There is also a favourable specimen at Pompeii, with really refined carving. Roman Ionic becomes a simplified form of Greek, the frieze for instance being always a simple pattern instead of a subject scene; the only compensating addition is the high base or *podium* on which the buildings are raised.

But the Corinthian order was by far the most popular of the three at Rome. It was, in fact, now naturalized for the first time, having never been really adopted by the Greeks, who only used it in a few isolated instances. This is seen particularly in the treatment of the capital (Fig. 3), which had the advantage of presenting the same design on all four faces, so that it could be used anywhere. The Romans reduced to a conventional system the double range of leaves round the lower part, and gave a greater sense of support to the abacus by accentuating the spiral tendrils at the upper angles. They also 'masked' the bell of the cap more effectually than the Greeks, by their flat treatment of the acanthus leaves. Of this there is a beautiful example in the temple of Castor in the Forum; and the capitals of the neighbouring temple of Concord are remarkable for their volutes in the form of rams' heads. The varied forms of the capitals, with their complicated entablature, often produce a great effect of richness.

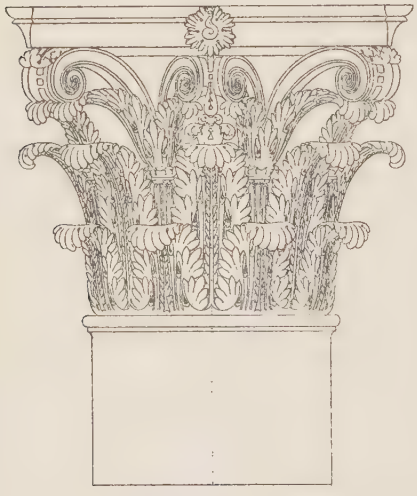


Fig. 3.—Diagram of Corinthian Capital

The earliest known instance of a Corinthian capital at Rome is in the Porticus of Cnaeus Octavius, dating from 168 B.C.; but it is probable that the temple of Zeus Olympios at Athens, which was looted by Sulla, served as a model for most of the Roman examples. Its columns were utilized for the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. The entablature of Roman Corinthian buildings was not evolved from any earlier constructional form, but was borrowed from the

THE PANTHEON, ROME

Ionic style. The Romans made a few modifications, such as the introduction of modillions or corbels supporting the cornice, and they carved many ornaments which in Greek buildings would have been only painted, such as the patterns on the cornices or the coffers of the ceilings. The best examples of Corinthian architecture in Rome are the Pantheon and the temples of Castor and of Antoninus and Faustina; a certain amount of decadence may be observed in the Forum of Nerva, the Thermae of Diocletian, and the Arch of Constantine. Outside Rome there are good examples in the temple of Minerva at Assisi and that of Hercules at Brescia.

In the first century of the Empire a new variation of the capital was introduced, which almost amounted to the mark of a new style, this being known as the Composite capital (Fig. 4). In appearance a combination of the Ionic and Corinthian, it is, strictly speaking, a separate development from the former, with acanthus ornament round the necking. The earliest example in Rome—though there are earlier in Asia Minor—is the Arch of Titus, and the capitals in the Forum of Trajan are also Composite. That it was regarded as a distinct order is implied by the introduction of a row of Composite capitals in buildings with 'superimposed orders' or decorated externally with tiers of arcading in the various styles. In these buildings we have what is virtually a new Roman style, with a definite proportion both in the intercolumniations of the shafts and in the relative proportions of the orders as vertically arranged. As already noted, the lighter orders were always placed above the heavy Doric. The principal examples in Rome are the Tabularium, the theatres of Marcellus and Pompey, the Basilica Julia, and the Colosseum.

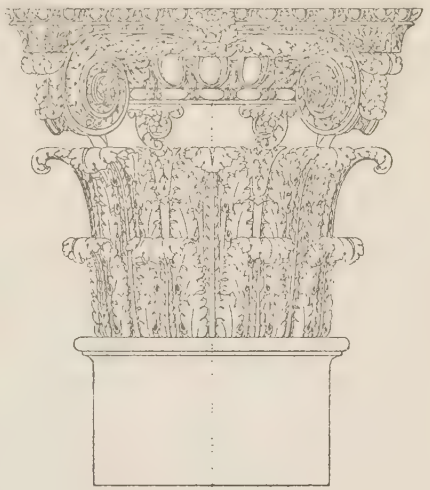


Fig. 4.—Diagram of Composite Capital

Roman temples do not stand out like the Greek as the typical specimens of the national architecture. It was not that the Romans

were a less religious people, for in some ways religion played an even greater part in their daily life than in that of the Greeks. But they were essentially utilitarian and practical, and their baths, their law-courts, and their places of meeting for business or pleasure were to them of equal architectural importance with the shrine of their deities. In some respects they stood in the same relation to the Greeks that the representatives of modern civilization do to those of the Middle Ages. Architecture to the Greek of the fifth century B.C. and to the Englishman or Frenchman of the thirteenth of our era was, like the other arts, above all the handmaid of religion. Hence in investigating the architecture of those periods it is to the temples or churches that we necessarily turn. But the most typical architecture of the nineteenth century must be sought rather in our secular public buildings than in our places of worship. Similarly, the characteristic creations of the Roman architect cover a wide field, embracing not only temples, but places of business and amusement, and even commemorative monuments. With the exception perhaps of the Pantheon, there is no great temple in Rome conspicuous for beauty or grandeur, though some are not without architectural interest or merit in construction and detail. The same will apply to the provinces, with the exception of the great buildings at Baalbec in Syria.

As regards the principal points in which Roman temples differ from Greek, one is the substitution of a *podium* or high raised plinth for the low stylobate of three steps. Another is the special importance given to the principal façade, a result, as we have seen, of Etruscan influence. This frequently caused the rear of the building to be left absolutely plain, the peristyle of columns not being carried all the way round, or being replaced by 'engaged' columns in the walls. Thirdly, no regard was paid to orientation, about which the Greeks were remarkably careful, and it is interesting to observe how every one of the temples with which the Forum is surrounded faces directly upon its centre. Another point of difference is the increased size of the *cella*, due to the facility with which the Romans could cover a wider span of roof than the Greeks, and this may have been an additional reason for dispensing with the peristyle in the case of their pseudoperipteral buildings, such as the Temple of Fortuna Virilis, or the Maison Carrée at Nismes.

The Pantheon (Fig. 5 and Plate VI.), though not the most typical,

TEMPLE OF VENUS AND ROME, FORUM, ROME

is certainly one of the finest of Roman temples. It consists of a rotunda surmounted by a dome, 142 feet in diameter and 140 high, the wall being twenty feet thick. In front is a large octostyle portico in three divisions, like that of an Etruscan temple, the side porticoes ending in apses, while the middle one leads to the main entrance, the bronze doors of which still remain. There are three rows of columns, of the Corinthian order, and the portico measures 101 by 59 feet. Round the rotunda are small apses alternating with rectangular chambers, all in the thickness of the wall, and the vaulted ceiling has deeply-set coffers with a central opening for light. The building was constructed of concrete, faced with small bricks arranged in a diamond pattern (*opus reticulatum*) and the interior was lined with marble. It was originally erected by M. Vipsanius Agrippa in 27 B.C., and the present building was long thought to be of that date, but recent discoveries have shown that what we now see is the reconstruction by Hadrian, of which an inscription existing *in situ* has preserved a record. The portico is even later, as is shown by the way it joins on to the inner entrance. The bricks are stamped with the name of that Emperor. The Pantheon, it has been noted, marks, on the one hand, the revival of a primitive style of circular building (evolved from the hut), and, on the other, the definite adoption of a system of construction which afterwards produced Byzantine, Romanesque, and finally Gothic architecture.

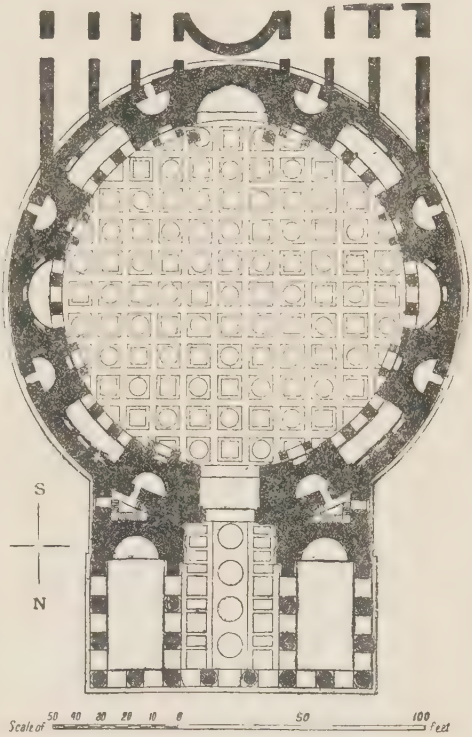


FIG. 5.—PLAN OF THE PANTHEON

The temple of Castor in the Forum is perhaps the most beautiful example of Roman architecture—or rather, was, for only three columns now remain standing, together with the high base or

podium on which it rested. In plan it was octostyle peripteral, the order being, as already noted, Corinthian; it had a portico three columns deep and eleven side-columns, and the base was twenty-two feet high. It was originally erected after the battle of Lake Regillus in 496 B.C., when the 'great Twin Brethren' assisted the Romans in a way with which Macaulay has familiarized us. In 117 B.C. it was rebuilt, and again under Trajan or Hadrian.

The most magnificent temple, on the other hand, was that of Venus and Rome (Plate VII.), on the Sacred Way at the east end of the Forum. It belongs to the same period as that of Castor, being erected by Hadrian in honour of the patron-goddess Roma, and Venus the progenitrix of the Julian family. It was a decastyle peripteral temple with a wide double cella, two apsidal recesses being placed back to back in the middle. All that remains at the present day is one side of the cella with the walls of the apses. The walls and the substructure were of concrete with brick facings, the Corinthian columns of white marble, and round the whole area ran a colonnade of granite column. The interior was decorated with various precious materials, and the roof was vaulted. Altogether it is interesting as a Roman development of the Greek plan.

Among other temples worthy of study may be mentioned that of Saturn, erected in 498 B.C., and rebuilt in 42 B.C., of which eight unfluted columns are still standing, on a base of travertine; the temples of Concord and Vespasian, the former of which, rebuilt by Augustus in B.C. 7, is remarkable for its disproportionate width; and the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, which, though late in date, is remarkably pure in style.

A peculiarly Roman development was the circular temple, a type probably derived from the circular hut of Romulus, of which two well-known examples exist in Rome, and one, equally well known from pictures, at Tivoli, not far away. Of these, the temple of Mater Matuta or Portunus in the Forum Boarium (Plate VIII.), with its modern tiled roof, is familiar in old views of Rome; it was formerly, but probably wrongly, known as the temple of Hercules. In the reign of Augustus it was rebuilt of Parian marble with effective Corinthian capitals.[1] The temple of Vesta in the Forum was founded by Numa, and frequently rebuilt on the old lines; the latest

[1] Altmann, however, a recognized authority on the Roman period, regards this building as a 'purely Greek' work of the second century B.C., and states that it is built of Pentelic marble.

TEMPLE OF MATER MATUTA (SO-CALLED), ROME

alteration was by Septimius Severus in 206 A.D. It had a peristyle of twenty Corinthian columns, but now only the foundations remain. We can judge of its appearance from coins of Augustus and Julia Domna, as also from a relief now at Florence. The temple at Tivoli (Tibur) was also dedicated to Vesta; the peristyle is composed of eighteen Corinthian columns, and the whole building is thought to belong to the first half of the first century B.C.

In the provinces there are few temples of any note, but Nismes has two effective examples, one being known as the 'Maison Carrée,' the other as the 'Baths of Diana.' The former (Plate IX.), is hexastyle pseudoperipteral in plan, with a portico three columns deep; it is well proportioned, and the details are comparatively pure. The latter is remarkable for its very advanced system of vaulting, almost like Romanesque. But all are far eclipsed, at least in point of scale, by the wonderful erections at Baalbec in Syria, where are the ruins of the two great temples of Jupiter and the Sun. They stand in a great enclosure surrounded by Corinthian columns, approached by an elaborate gateway or Propylaea and enclosing two large courts, one of which is hexagonal in form. The decoration shows a carelessness and exuberance, yet combined with originality, in which we see the germs of Byzantine art. The general tendency to colossal proportions in plan and elevation is a sign of degeneracy, but the ruins can hardly fail to impress. They date from the third century, shortly before the last effort of heathen architecture in the Palace of Diocletian (p. 42).

The Romans, as we have already noted, paid much greater attention to their secular architecture than the Greeks, and we cannot, as in the case of the latter nation, be content with a survey of their religious edifices if we are to obtain an adequate notion of their achievements in this direction. It was not indeed until the beginning of the Imperial period that the impetus was given to a development of secular architecture, or indeed to any other; Republican Rome was even less luxurious than Greece in its best days, and if the gods were modestly housed, it was not possible to make any invidious contrast with the public and private secular buildings of the time. Nowhere, says Juvenal, 'did marble spoil the effect of the native tufa.' As for sculpture, so for architecture, local stone and clay were considered sufficient, and the buildings

were all of these materials until the time when Augustus, finding a Rome of brick, left one of marble. 'The ancients,' says Strabo, writing in the reign of that emperor, 'cared nothing for the beauty of Rome, being bent on more important and more utilitarian ends, but their successors, especially at the present day, while vying with them in those ends, have filled the city with many beautiful monuments. For Pompey, Caesar, and Augustus, and their friends and relatives, spared no trouble or expense in their works; and most of these are to be seen in the Campus Martius, which was naturally fitted for the purpose, and repaid the attention devoted to its adornment.'

From this time onward, not only in Rome, but also in Italian and provincial cities, Forums, theatres, baths, and public halls arose with great rapidity and in great profusion, to say nothing of the great Imperial palaces and villas of wealthy Romans, some of which grew almost to the size of towns, such as Nero's Golden House, Hadrian's villa at Tivoli, or Diocletian's palace at Spalato. The space bordering on the north side of the old Forum at Rome came to be entirely occupied by new Forums erected by the ambition of successive Emperors, each containing basilicas, temples, and commemorative monuments, while on the opposite side the Palatine Hill was completely covered by the palaces of the Caesars. And so Republican Rome gradually became transformed out of recognition, until the invasions of the barbarians, and the decay and decentralization of the Empire, put an end to the extension of her greatness.

The Roman Forum corresponded to the Greek *agora*, and was the great public meeting-place, being used in the first place as a market, afterwards also for meetings and shows of various kinds. In the provincial towns, as at Pompeii or Silchester, it is taken as the centre from which the plan is laid out, the streets radiating from it in all directions. At Rome this is not exactly the case, the old Forum Romanum there being of gradual growth, and not only unsymmetrical, but having no relation to the plan of the rest of the city. But the new Forums of the Emperors—those of Julius Caesar, Augustus, Vespasian, Nerva, and Trajan—were all laid down on a definite system, symmetrically planned in a rectangular form, and surrounded by colonnades. From their size and the magnificence of the design and material they really give a better idea of the

THE MAISON CARRÉE, NISMES

Roman architectural style than temples or other buildings. The space between the colonnade and the outer wall was usually occupied by shops or offices; and sometimes a temple was placed in the centre or at one end. In the Forum of Caesar was a temple of Venus; in that of Augustus, one to Mars Ultor. The Forum of Trajan had along one side of it the huge Basilica Ulpia, beyond which was the famous Column (p. 75).

Now that practically the whole of the Forum Romanum has been carefully explored and uncovered, in addition to the buildings which had always been standing, in more or less complete condition, it may be worth while to give a rapid survey in order of the structures which adorned it or lined its sides, without any attempt

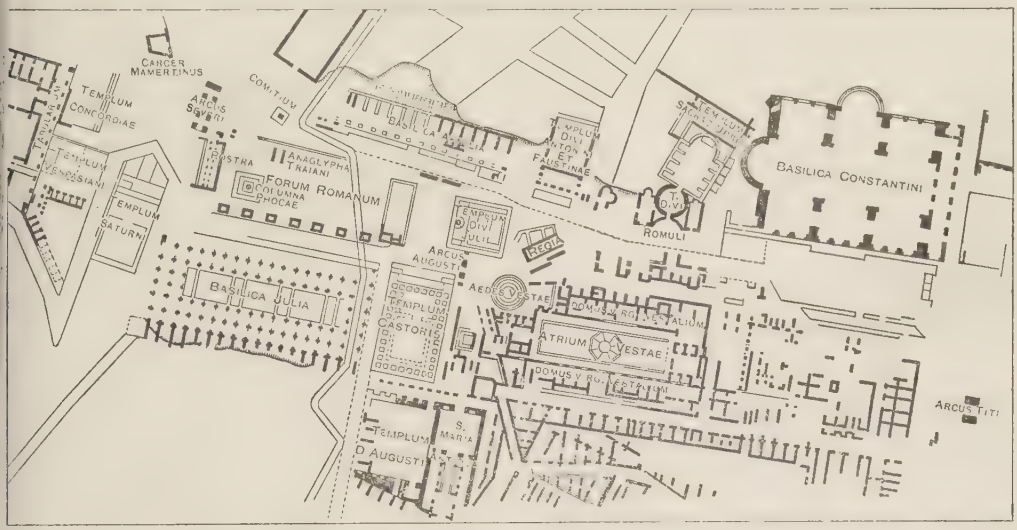


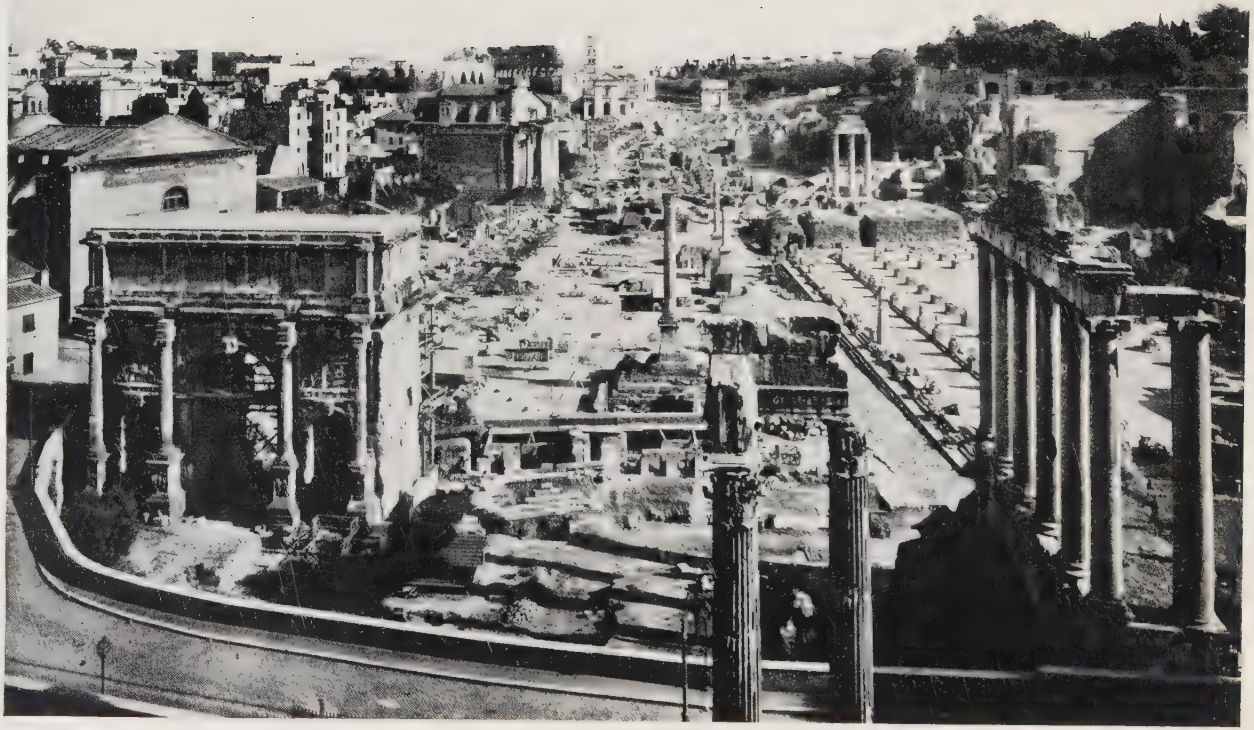
Fig. 6.—Plan of Forum

at detailed description, as those of importance are discussed elsewhere in this chapter. Reference may be made throughout to the accompanying illustration (Plate x.). All standing erections, it may be noted, belong to the time of the Empire; of earlier Republican buildings only the substructures remain.

The Forum (plan Fig. 6) occupies a level rectangular space at the foot of the Capitoline and Palatine Hills, with its longer axis approximately east and west, and measures about 520 by 140 feet. Entering by the Arch of Titus at the west end, we have on our right

the temple of Venus and Rome, now a church. At the northern angle stand the ruins of the Basilica of Constantine, with a round temple built by Maxentius, now the church of SS. Cosma and Damiano. Next is the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, now the church of S. Lorenzo, followed by the temple of Julius Caesar, on the front of which were the famous Rostra Julia, decorated with the prows of ships taken in the battle of Actium. The rest of this side was occupied by the Basilica Aemilia with shops in front, the Comitium, and the Curia Julia or Senate-House (now a church); just here the 'black stone' and supposed tomb of Romulus were discovered in 1899 by Signor Boni. On the west side were the Arch of Septimius Severus, the older Rostra, and the temple of Saturn, of which the front remains; behind these, under the Capitoline Hill, the temples of Concord and Vespasian, and the portico of the twelve Dii Consentes. On the south side were the Basilica Julia, the temple of Castor and Pollux, and the fountain of Juturna, where the Twin Brethren watered their horses after the Battle of Lake Regillus. Beyond these were the Regia or residence of the Pontifex Maximus, the circular temple of Vesta, and the Atrium Vestae or Hall of the Vestal Virgins. In the central area were various honorary statues and columns, of which the seventh-century column of Phocas now alone exists.

Equally characteristic of the Imperial times are the Basilicae or Courts of Justice, which began to be erected as early as the second century B.C., and steadily developed in size and importance. Though not actually serving as a model for the earliest Christian churches, which were more on the lines of the private house, it is well known that the basilica is the prototype of the Romanesque church of a later period, with its nave and aisles, apse with tribunal, and *narthex* or porch. The architect Bramante described St. Peter's at Rome as 'the Pantheon on the Basilica of Constantine.' The first basilica was erected in Rome by Cato in 184 B.C., and this was replaced by the Basilica Julia, first built by Julius Caesar, and restored by Augustus and Diocletian. The central area measured 260 by 60 feet, and it was surrounded on three sides by a double arcade with engaged Doric columns and a gallery above, forming three interior aisles, but it had no apse. The Ulpian basilica, erected by Trajan, was 400 feet long, and had an



VIEW OF THE FORUM AT ROME

apse and semicircular halls for courts of justice, but otherwise resembled the Julian in plan. It had a colonnade of monolithic columns, marble-faced walls, and a roof of bronze. The Basilica Aemilia was famous for its magnificent marbles. The Basilica of Constantine (A.D. 312) was larger than any of these, and of a different type, measuring 114 by 82 feet, with three bays, two apses, and a barrel-vaulted roof of concrete, a reproduction of the *tepidarium* of a bath (Plate XI.). It is of interest as showing how the architect of the day solved the problem of vaulting over a triple nave. Of provincial basilicae may be mentioned one at Pompeii with Ionic columns, and there is a good example at Trier (Trèves), an apsidal rectangle, 225 feet long and 100 high, built of red tiles with sandstone substructure. It is now a Lutheran church for the barracks.

The subsequent development of the basilica under Christian auspices is not strictly germane to the purposes of this work; but one phase is perhaps worth noting here, as bearing on the theories already mentioned as put forward by Prof. Strzygowski (p. 17). The small but remarkable early basilicae erected by the Syrian Christians have often been described in treatises on architecture, as illustrating the evolution of the Christian church; but Strzygowski endeavours to show that they are not only the prototypes of the Byzantine church, but that they sprang up quite independently of the Roman type. They are in his view purely Oriental in type, carrying on the native traditions of the East, and thus linking the Hellenistic culture directly with that of the Christian period. The earlier type consists of a simple rectangle with a dome; from this was subsequently evolved the Greek cross type with a dome over the crossing.

But for Romanesque and Western architecture another origin must be sought. The Roman architects of the later Empire were devoting themselves to solving the problem of the connexion of the arch and column. The first attempts are to be seen at Baalbec, and the solution is met with in the Palace of Diocletian at Spalato (p. 42), where the semicircular architraves may be seen to be the immediate prototypes of the arcades of mediaeval architecture, with the arch resting immediately on the column.

Of the earlier theatres of Rome, on which the descriptions of Vitruvius may be presumed to be based, and which were mostly in

the Campus Martius, little now remains. Down to the middle of the first century B.C. theatres were unknown in Rome, except mere temporary wooden structures, and the earliest of which we hear is that of Curio, erected in B.C. 58. It had the peculiarity of being double, with two semicircular auditoria back to back, which revolved in such a way as to form a complete circle or amphitheatre for gladiatorial shows. About the same time the aedile M. Aemilius Scaurus built a theatre adorned with 360 marble columns, the background of the stage being in three storeys faced with marble, mosaic, and gold, and this was followed in 55 B.C. by the theatre of Pompey, of which only a few remains exist. Its plan, however, is known to us from the marble plan of Rome preserved in the Capitol. Of the theatre of Marcellus, built by Augustus in 13 B.C., and named after his ill-fated nephew, about half the auditorium remains, and that much altered. The lower storey is decorated on the exterior with an arcade of Doric half-columns, and the next with Ionic; we may suppose that a third storey had Corinthian columns to correspond. Little remains of the interior, but it may be reconstructed from the marble plan already mentioned.

Many theatres also exist in the provinces and more distant parts of the Roman Empire, of which the most important are at Pompeii, Taormina in Sicily, Aizani and Aspendus in Asia Minor, and Orange in Southern France. That at Pompeii was built as early as the second century, but was rebuilt at a later date, and as a matter of fact conforms rather to the Greek than the Roman type. The theatre at Aspendus is considered to date from the time of the Antonines, and is described by Donaldson as 'externally a plain building, with three complete rows of windows, besides sixteen other openings of the same kind.' The back wall of the stage is in three storeys, the second having projecting brackets or pedestals for the support of an upper stage when required, while above it is a series of ornamental pediments. Round the top of the auditorium runs a gallery of fifty-eight semicircular arches. Both this theatre and that at Taormina are remarkable for their admirable preservation. With a few exceptions, Roman theatres differ from Greek by not being cut out of a hillside; they thus become separate structures, requiring an exterior façade. Another important difference is in the shape of the orchestra, which is now no longer required for the chorus, and is given up to the spectators.

THE BASILICA OF CONSTANTINE, ROME

AMPHITHEATRES

Turning now to the amphitheatres, which in Imperial Rome played a more important part than those devoted to scenic performances, we naturally look to the Colosseum as the typical example of this form of structure. It is so well known even to those who have not visited Rome that its general appearance hardly needs description; but a few words may be said on the details of its construction. More than half of it has now disappeared, having been largely used for the erection of palaces, but it is still unsurpassed for size and impressiveness. Its circumference is about 600 yards, its height about 160 feet, and it rises in three storeys, each with an arcade of columns of a different architectural order, as in the theatre of Marcellus and other buildings already mentioned. Here, as elsewhere, the lowest storey is Doric, the next Ionic, and the topmost Corinthian; above them is a plain wall, which may be a later addition. There were no less than eighty entrances, four leading directly to the arena, the others to the vaulted corridors running round under the auditorium and to the staircases by which the seats were reached. The exterior is of travertine, the interior of brick and tufa, with a coating of marble and stucco which has now disappeared, as has the arrangement of the seats. It was opened by the Emperor Titus in the year 80, and is computed to have held 50,000 spectators.

In the provinces almost every town seems to have had its amphitheatre, even places of the modest dimensions of Dorchester and Silchester (see p. 171), and magnificent examples exist to the present day at Verona, Pola, Arles, and Nismes, which are more or less familiar to travellers. That at Verona (Plate XII.) is in admirable preservation, both inside and out, though it has lost nearly the whole of the topmost of the three storeys. The exterior arches are supported on plain square piers of stone with moulded capitals, the masonry of the walls consisting of the usual combination of concrete and tile-work. Within, the seating is practically entire, with a large arched doorway in the middle, and the openings leading to the various tiers of seats.

The elaborate and splendid character of the baths erected by the Romans sufficiently indicates what an important part they played in their daily life. They were, in fact, social meeting-places, with their gymnasia, exercising-grounds, and even libraries; and were

adorned with every magnificence of fitting and decoration, and with works of art, sculptures and paintings. The earliest baths in Rome are those of Agrippa in the Campus Martius, of the time of Augustus; of the others existing the most important are those of Titus, Caracalla, and Diocletian. In all there is a general similarity of arrangement, and the baths of Caracalla or Thermae Antoninianae on the Aventine may be taken as a typical example, being the best

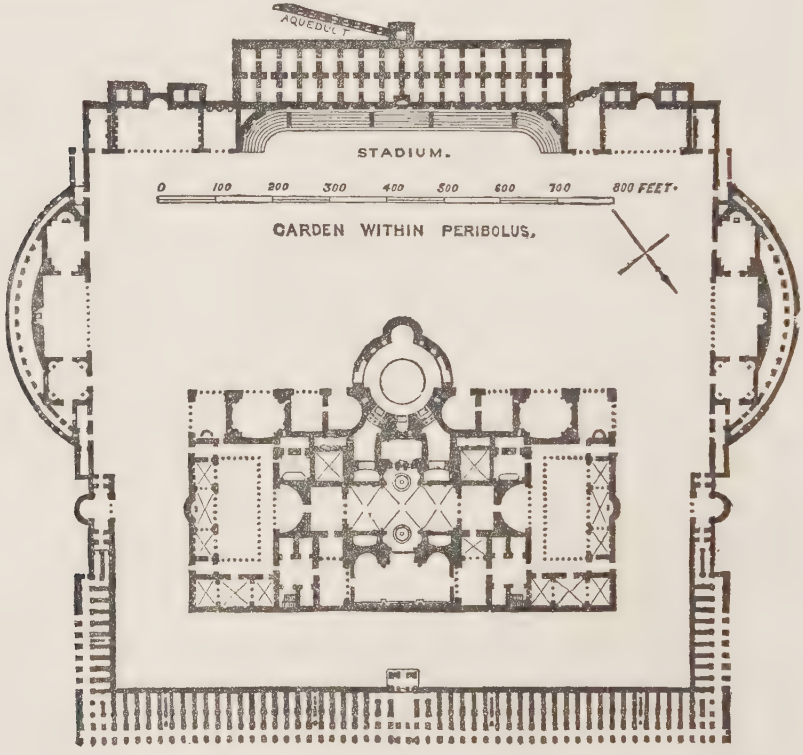


Fig. 7.—Plan of the Baths of Caracalla

preserved, and also as illustrating the new developments of Roman architecture at this period. The skilful combination of many buildings to form one structure (see above, p. 22) and the bold use of gigantic domes are striking examples of the Roman mechanical knowledge and constructive genius.

These baths formed an oblong building placed in the centre of a large rectangular court surrounded by other buildings (see Fig. 7), the court measuring 1160 feet square, which is less than that of the

THE AMPHITHEATRE AT VERONA

THE PORTA NIGRA AT TRIER

baths of Diocletian (1330 × 1250 feet). The north-east wall of the court is lined by a row of small chambers, perhaps for single baths, and a portico; on the adjoining sides are various halls and chambers and on the south-west side is a stadium or running-ground. The central area was laid out as a garden. The main building comprises a bewildering multiplicity of rooms, but arranged with a severe and symmetrical regularity. They include a *palaestra* or exercising-ground with peristyle, a series of *apodyteria* or dressing-rooms, and the usual hot, warm, and cold baths. In the middle was the *tepidarium* or warm bath, 184 by 72 feet in area, and on one side the *caldarium* or hot bath with its rotunda above; at one end of the former was the *frigidarium* or cold bath, open to the sky. The arrangements for warming were exceedingly elaborate, consisting of a system of hypocausts or hot-air chambers below, from which the warmth was conveyed through the walls by vertical and horizontal flue-tiles. The walls and floors were of concrete, lined or paved with marble, and the roofs were elaborately vaulted.

The tendency of the Romans to achieve architectural effect in all their public structures is also seen in their historical monuments, which take the form either of lofty columns or of the so-called 'triumphal,' or more accurately, 'monumental' arches. Of the former the principal examples are those of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius in Rome; of the latter, a large number in all parts of the Empire are still in existence. They were not mere monuments of victory, still less erected in connection with triumphs,[1] but were free-standing arches or gateways, being, in the former case, of a purely honorary character. They were built with a view to receiving sculptured decoration by means of which the exploits of the emperor and his army or of private persons were portrayed, with inscriptions recording the events. They are, in point of fact, more interesting to us in this respect than as examples of architecture. Similarly, the columns present no special structural features beyond their great size. In a subsequent chapter some allusion will be made to the sculptured reliefs and their artistic character.

But one arch at least is architecturally interesting, that of Titus

[1] The term 'triumphal' is misleading, as it was not known to the Romans before the fourth century. These arches were not derived from temporary structures erected for triumphs, but from the custom of placing honorary statues in conspicuous positions.

near the Colosseum, which was erected in 81 A.D., after the taking of Jerusalem, and is an early example of the use of Composite capitals. It is simple in form, with a single doorway, and half-columns on either side resting on plain solid bases. The decoration is rich and delicate, even the keystone of the arch being adorned with a figure of Victory, almost in the round. The reliefs over the arch representing the triumph of Titus after the destruction of Jerusalem will be subsequently discussed (p. 72), and their importance is historical as well as artistic. The arch of Trajan at Beneventum is also of the single type, with composite capitals.

The arch of Septimius Severus (Plate XIII.), erected in 203 in commemoration of his victories on the eastern frontier of the empire, remains complete except for the chariot and statues which formerly adorned its summit. The design is impressive and powerful, and the triumphal arch is here seen in its richest form, with three arched passages. It is 76 feet high, and has projecting columns on pedestals, with a horizontal superstructure or attic, on which is the inscription, formerly commemorating the Emperor Geta, but his name was removed by order of Caracalla. Over the entrances are five bands of relief illustrating the Imperial campaigns, but unsatisfactory both in composition and detail, showing the failing artistic powers of the period.

The arch of Constantine (Plate XIV.), erected in 315, is of the same type, and is the best preserved and most splendid in Rome. It shows the decadence of decorative art at the beginning of the fourth century, but has preserved some reliefs of Trajan's time, inserted from the ruined arch of that emperor (p. 74). It has been described as 'a doorway leading from classical to Christian architecture,' but strictly speaking this is not true, as its details are purely classical if decadent, and as we shall see, the true transition is better exemplified elsewhere. In the provinces the finest specimens of these monuments are at Salonica, Rheims, and Orange. Altogether, there are about eighty in existence, though if we include all monumental arches of which there is only record, the number amounts to over four hundred. The earliest remaining is that of Augustus at Rimini (B.C. 27). Both arch and column have been adopted for similar purposes in modern times, and the Arc de Triomphe in the Champs Élysées at Paris, the Nelson and Duke of York columns in London, are familiar to all.

THE ARCH OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS IN THE FORUM, ROME

The list of monuments of Roman architectural genius is not yet exhausted. Other notable achievements may be found all over the empire; for example, the Porta Nigra at Trier (Plate XII.), almost the only great city gateway now remaining, and certainly the finest work of its kind in Central Europe. It probably dates from the time of Gallienus (A.D. 260), and is oblong, flanked by two wings (one of which is now incomplete) and terminated on the outer side by semicircular towers. The exterior of three storeys is adorned with Doric columns, the two upper storeys having rows of semicircular-headed windows, with pilasters between, and the gateway itself consists of a double arch, 14 feet wide and 23 feet high. The total height is 70 feet and length 115 feet. It was probably used also as a fortress.

The magnificent aqueducts and bridges built by the Romans were regarded by them purely as engineering works of a utilitarian character, but in spite of the absence of decorative features they may really be considered as monuments, and are worthy of attention for their admirable construction. There are good examples of bridges at Rimini, Aosta, and Alcantara in Spain, the last named, over the Tagus, being 650 feet in length; it has six arches, ranging in span from 40 to 100 feet, and is of superb masonry and graceful proportions. Of the aqueducts, by far the finest is the Pont du Gard at Nismes, which has a span across the valley of 880 feet; there are three rows of arches, the upper one smaller than the others, giving the effect of an entablature with cornice. The principle is, in fact, the same as that already noted in the Colosseum and other buildings, except for the absence of ornamental detail. The aqueduct at Segovia in Spain is not so fine, but is of greater height than any in Italy; it has two tiers of arches, the upper one-third the height of the lower.

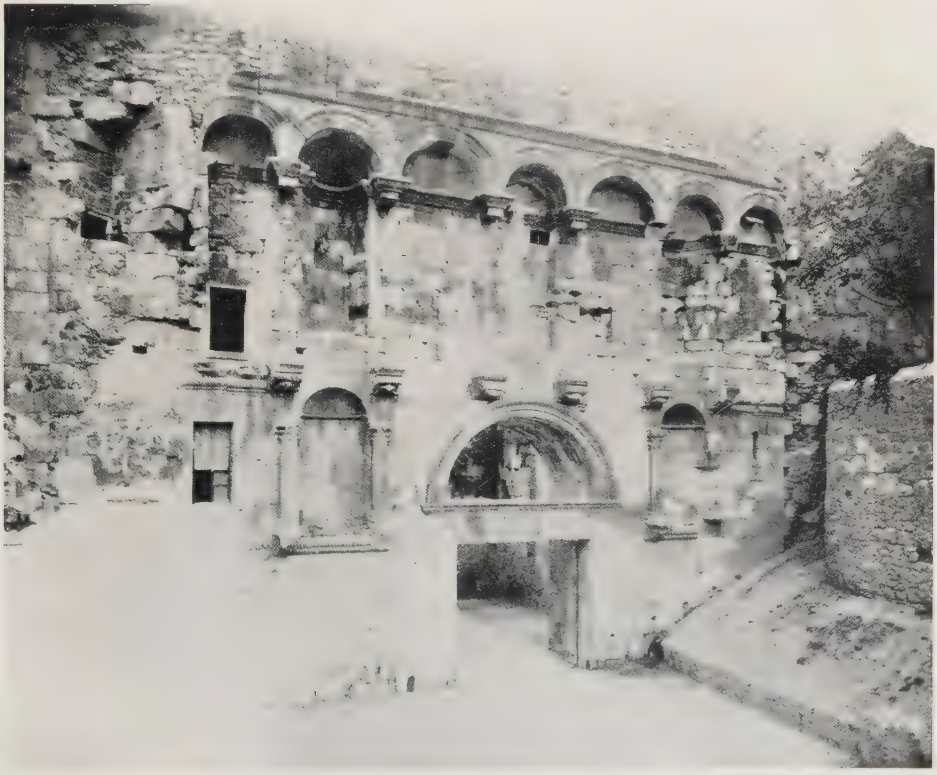
Roman domestic architecture affords a marked contrast to Greek, at least in classical times. The series of palaces on the Palatine and the palace of Diocletian at Spalato may now be rivalled or surpassed in elaborateness and magnificence by the Minoan palace at Knossos, but we look in vain for anything of the kind in Greece later than Tiryns. And as regards private houses of a humbler kind, the elaborate decoration of those at Pompeii or even of the provincial villas finds no parallel anywhere

in Greece. The plan and arrangement of the typical Roman house, with its atrium, peristyle, and reception-rooms is familiar enough, and need not be entered on in detail here. And when we turn to the palaces and larger villas, we find that on the whole the same principle is maintained, though the subordinate parts are greatly multiplied. The villa of Hadrian at Tivoli, for instance, is almost like a small town, with its varied buildings and arrangements for pleasure and recreation.

The group of palaces and villas on the Palatine at Rome may be taken as typical of the requirements of Roman rulers in the earlier Imperial period. It was Augustus, the emperor who 'left Rome marble,' who first began the work of covering the hill with the elaborate structures which have given to so many European languages the word for a state residence or 'Palace.' Their extension was continued by Tiberius and Caligula, and again by the Flavian emperors and Hadrian, culminating in the palace of Septimius Severus, who by means of vaulted substructures extended his borders even beyond the actual surface of the hill. Of these palaces there remains now little beyond the brick core of the walls, but much can be actually reconstructed. The Flavian palace, for instance, consisted of a large central hall, with a basilica for official purposes at one end, and a sort of peristyle at the other surrounded by reception-rooms. Among other features of the group of buildings was the 'Stadium' on the south side, a garden ornamentally laid out and surrounded by colonnades. The house of Livia and other houses inhabited by private persons belonged more to the type of ordinary Roman house, but combined ancient Italian with Greek traditions, as is the case with so many of the houses at Pompeii.

In order to see the stage of development reached by the imperial residences of three hundred years later we must turn to the provinces; and if the villa of Hadrian may be described as a town, the palace of Diocletian at Spalato (Fig. 8) is almost a city. It was in fact a fortress as well as a palace, being fortified on three sides; it measured about 700 by 580 feet, and was entered by three gates. The approach to the palace consisted of an arcade, in which the arches spring directly from the capital without any intervening entablatures, a feature of special interest as showing thus early the transition that was taking place from Roman to Romanesque architecture. On either side of this was a temple, and the palace

THE ARCH OF CONSTANTINE AT ROME



THE GOLDEN GATE, PALACE OF DIOCLETIAN, SPALATO

was entered by a porch and circular hall, ending on the south side in a long gallery or *cryptoporticus* full of works of art. In the Golden Gateway (Plan, A ; Plate XIV.) the walls have round-headed arcades quite in the manner of Romanesque buildings. But this was a change which had already begun at an earlier date. The palace of Diocletian is, in fact, the last expiring effort of the purely Roman

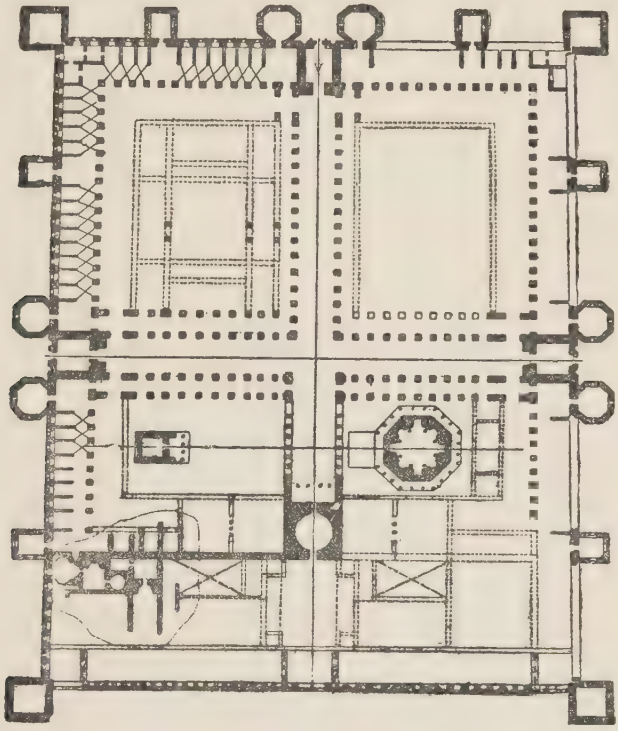


FIG. 8.—PLAN OF DIOCLETIAN'S PALACE AT SPALATO

architectural spirit, and with the official recognition of Christianity in the succeeding century we pass to another system inspired by entirely new ideas. 'In the basilicas of the fourth century,' it has been said, 'Christianity found a brilliant expression, embodying new artistic principles; the centre of interest was shifted from the exterior to the interior.' Herein we see one of the essential points of difference between Classical and Christian architecture; the Greek or Roman temple was little more than a museum of sacred and valuable offerings or relics, but the Christian church was the place where the worshippers met the Deity face to face, and

succeeding ages vied in making it more and more a shrine worthy for his reception.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF ROMAN ARCHITECTURE

(Only those buildings are given of which the exact dates are known).

B.C. 493. Temple of Ceres at Rome (Tuscan).
312. Aqueduct of Appius Claudius.
254. Temples of Janus and Spes in Forum Olitorium, Rome.
184. Basilica of Cato in Forum.
167. Temple of Juno Sospita.
80. Temple of Fortune at Praeneste.
78. Tabularium on Capitol.
Temple of Fortuna Virilis.
Temple of Vesta or Hercules.
72. Temple of Sibyl at Tivoli.
Temple of Hercules at Cori.
55. First stone theatre.
25. Pantheon (first erected).
13. Theatres of Balbus and Marcellus.

A.D. 4. Maison Carrée at Nismes.
6. Temple of Dioscuri at Rome.
37. Palace of Caligula.
64. Nero's Golden House.
70. Temple of Peace (Vespasian).
Capitoline Temple rebuilt.
Colosseum begun.
Baths of Titus.
81. Arch of Titus.
82. Colosseum finished.
113. Forum of Trajan.
117. Column and Arch of Trajan.
141. Temple of Faustina in Forum.
180. Column of M. Aurelius.
203. Arch of Sept. Severus.
273. Temple of Sun, Baalbec.
312. Arch of Constantine.

CHAPTER III

ROMAN SCULPTURE.—I. THE AUGUSTAN AGE

Importance in relation to Greek sculpture—Roman copies and imitations—The 'new Attic' and eclectic schools—Pasiteles and Arcesilaus—Reliefs—The Ara Pacis—Naturalism and decorative art—Augustan portraiture—Flavian and later portraits—Personifications.

THERE are two main points of difference between Greek and Roman sculpture which arrest our attention at the outset of the subject. Generally speaking Greek sculpture is essentially ideal; it aims either at portraying deities and mythological or heroic conceptions, or at idealizing the actual. Roman sculpture, on the other hand, is realistic; a tendency exhibited not only in the portraiture, which aimed at truthful reproduction, and in the historical monuments which form so prominent a feature of its history, but even in its treatment of subordinate decoration. Secondly—and this is perhaps the natural consequence of the first great difference—Greek sculpture is mainly in the round, in the form of statues, whereas Roman is mainly in relief.

For these, and also for other reasons, the history of sculpture under the Romans must perforce receive somewhat different treatment from that of Greece. We have not to deal with the achievements of strongly-defined schools or eminent artists, hardly even with a regular continuous development from a lower to a higher stage and the subsequent decadence. Roman sculpture scarcely lends itself in the same way as Greek to historical and categorical treatment. We can indeed distinguish monuments of the age of Augustus from those of the time of Hadrian or Trajan, or we can trace the artistic decadence of the second and third centuries, and for purposes of dating, portraits and historical monuments come to our aid as they never do in Greek sculpture. But the imitative and unoriginal character of so many works of the Roman period makes

it impossible to use them as we use the original masterpieces of Greece. A Greek statue or relief can usually be dated within a few years, or at any rate decades; a Roman copy of a Greek statue yields no such evidence in itself. It is even difficult in many cases to distinguish Roman work from that of the later Greek or Hellenistic period by which the Romans were so largely influenced. It will therefore be necessary in the following pages to discuss the subject more in its general aspects, and to deal with classes of monuments as much as with a succession of typical examples. We may begin by indicating the relation of Roman to Greek sculpture.

For the student of Greek art Roman sculpture is of course invaluable. In fact it is difficult to realize that in the eighteenth century Roman copies supplied almost all the material which writers such as Winckelmann had at their command. At the present day we are in a more fortunate position, and our knowledge of the characteristics of a Pheidias, a Scopas, or a Praxiteles, is based on firmer grounds, since excavations have yielded originals with which the previous heritage of copies and imitations can be profitably compared. But even at this day we have nothing certainly from the hand of Myron, of Polycleitos, or even of Pheidias.

This aspect of Roman sculpture may be considered under two heads: *copies* and *imitations*. In the first we have to deal with reproductions of individual works of art, in the second rather with reproductions of the characteristics of some particular school or period.[1] The former are for the most part the work of Greek artists, trained in Greek methods, if not actually brought up on Greek soil, and were made by them for rich Roman patrons, whose taste for art, somewhat analogous to that of the modern *parvenu*, had been fostered by the flooding of Italy with plundered masterpieces in the campaigns of Mummius and Sulla. It is obvious that such circumstances were unfavourable to the production of the best possible work; the artist had to make his living, and his patron, while insisting that his copy should be an exact reproduction in detail of the original, would be either indifferent to, or incapable of appreciating, its true artistic merit. Nor must we forget, in utilizing these copies for the purpose of comparative study, that the idiosyncrasies of their authors and the spirit of the age in which they lived may militate against their value to us as reproductions.

[1] *Cf.* Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, pp. 29, 44.

THE FARNESE HERAKLES OF GLYKON

(NAPLES MUSEUM)

A large proportion of these copies are statues of deities, either copies of particular works or reproductions of recognized types, such as had been created by works like the Zeus of Pheidias, the Aphrodite of Praxiteles, or the Poseidon and Herakles of Lysippos. It is necessary to draw a distinction between these two classes, in order to avoid wrong impressions. Thus it may be said that Pheidias created the conception of Zeus for all time; but we cannot therefore regard such a grand and characteristic work as the Otricoli head as a reproduction from the Olympian statue. It may embody the dignity and impressiveness of Pheidias's creation, but as the later coins of Elis show, it is very far removed from the actual appearance of the head as he conceived it. In the leonine aspect of the face and treatment of the hair another influence has crept in, derived from the type of Alexander the Great; these characteristics are entirely wanting in the grave face with straight hair and beard depicted on the coins.

Or to take another instance: Praxiteles' conception of the Cnidian Aphrodite, entirely devoid of self-consciousness, led to a whole crowd of imitations, such as the Venus dei Medici in Florence or the Venus of Arles, in which this motive is altogether degraded. They are copies in so far as they reproduce the pose and action of the original; but in their false prudity and sensuality they are but reminiscences of the type. An equally—though for a different reason—unpleasing version of a famous original is the well-known Farnese Herakles of Glykon at Naples (Plate xv.). Here we have a hopelessly exaggerated presentation of an original by Lysippos, in which the sculptor, aiming at the conception of superhuman strength, has only succeeded in achieving a heavy figure, overloaded with muscular development, which is almost grotesque in its clumsiness.

On the other hand, we have in the Lancelotti Diskobolos, and in some of the numerous copies of the Diadumenos and Doryphoros, in all probability fairly close reproductions of the originals by Myron and Polycleitos. This has been so generally recognized that these copies have always been made the basis of the study of these artists by whom, as we have noted, no undoubted originals exist. It may be, however, that some of the copies are really antecedent to the Roman period, and for this reason likely to be closer to the originals.

Imitations of Greek work produced during the Roman period are, as we have said, directed at reproducing the style of some

particular school or period rather than individual works. We have not only imitations of sculpture of the Hellenistic and of the best Greek period, but even of archaic work. Some of the latter, which may be compared in their tendency with the modern Pre-Raphaelite movement, are very creditable reproductions of the later and more refined archaic Greek work. But though the conventional treatment of the hair, the angular folds of drapery, the exaggerated stiffness of the figures, and such-like details may be faithfully rendered, the artist usually betrays himself elsewhere, as for instance in his treatment of the eye, which shows a fidelity to nature never attained by the sculptors of the archaic period. Among the better-known examples of archaistic statues are an Artemis in the British Museum, another found at Pompeii (Plate XVI.), a torso of Athena at Dresden, and another figure of the latter goddess at Naples. The Pompeian Artemis is thought to be a copy of an Artemis Laphria mentioned by Pausanias, and it is certainly remarkably successful as a copy of the archaic.

Another class of imitations is formed by what are known as the 'new Attic' reliefs, in which the delicate quaintness of the Athenian style of the early part of the fifth century is deliberately imitated. A large marble vase by Sosibios, now in the Louvre, is ornamented with figures in this style; but there is no real composition attempted and they are merely a medley of types, of all periods. Grouped with an Artemis and a Hermes of genuinely archaic or rather archaistic type, we find an Apollo playing the lyre, male and female dancers, and a frenzied Maenad of the fourth-century type created by Scopas. And in other works of the same kind the same features are apparent. These and similar types are repeated again and again in different combinations or with slightly varied attitudes, and we shall meet with them again in other branches of art, in terra-cotta reliefs, in metal-work, and even in pottery. They are in fact merely decorative motives, very effective as far as they go, but serving no higher purpose.

This eclecticism, which prevailed in the latter half of the first century B.C., finds its expression in the work of two sculptors of whom we hear something in literature. But their paths lie in divergent directions, the one following on the archaistic lines of the 'new Attic' reliefs, the other carrying on the traditions of the idyllic Hellenistic school. We shall see subsequently that the influence of

ARCHAISTIC ARTEMIS FROM POMPEII
(NAPLES MUSEUM)

both schools makes itself manifest in the minor art of the period, both in metal-work, in terra-cotta, and in pottery. The reason for this is doubtless that each school had its following of metal-workers, modellers, and potters, as well as sculptors.

The principal representative of the first school is Pasiteles, a versatile and accomplished artist, of whom we are told that he always first made a clay model of everything he attempted. This appears to have been an innovation, at least for statuary in marble, though for bronzes, terra-cottas, or metal-work it was obviously a necessity. At all events, it is remarked as a peculiarity of Pasiteles that he used models, and we may assume that though they are invariably used in modern times, and even Michelangelo could not dispense with them, it had not been a custom with the Greeks. But the fact is that Pasiteles was by training a metal-worker, for which purpose he was obliged to use models, and hence the practice was familiar to him. It had, however, probably become pretty general in the time of Augustus, and we read that the models of his contemporary Arcesilaus fetched even more than the complete works of others; but it shows a great falling off in creative capacity from the achievements of the Greeks.

It may be noted in passing that all our evidence on the use of models by ancient sculptors actually comes from this period. The process was a purely mechanical one. The clay models (*proplasmata*) were made by hand or on a wooden core of two rods at right angles, whence its name of *crux*. From the model a mould was made, and from that a plaster cast, and then came the process of pointing, or marking the conspicuous points of the anatomy with nails (*puntelli*) on the block of marble.[1] The superfluous stone was then cleared away with a drill, the number of the 'points' being increased as the work advanced, until the form of the model was attained.

The names of Stephanus, a pupil of Pasiteles, and of Menelaus, a pupil of Stephanus, occurring on the bases of existing works of art, afford us some criteria on which to base a notion of the style of this school, which evidently lasted for at least two generations. Its aim appears to have been primarily the reproduction of the style of the fifth century; the works alluded to, and one or two similar

[1] Traces of these *puntelli* have been observed in the colossal Monte Cavallo heads at Rome, and in a copy of the Discobolus and a Barbarian in the Lateran.

ones, were evidently conceived with this end in view, though certain affectations and mannerisms betray the later hand. The figure signed by Stephanus is that of a young athlete with a pensive expression, in which the intention has clearly been to imitate the athlete-statues of the Argive school of the fifth century. A very similar figure is combined in a group at Naples (Plate XVII.) with that of a woman, who in the treatment of her drapery recalls a statue of Venus of the rival school presently to be mentioned; but the combination of these two figures, of whom the woman is clearly the elder, has gained for them the obvious designation of Orestes and Electra. A somewhat similar group is the one signed by Menelaus; and the fact that the drapery of the Naples Electra is treated so much in the style of the Venus aforesaid implies that there was close connection between the two schools.

The art of the Augustan age, of which these sculptors may be taken as representative, was the outcome of a distinct reaction which had been at work all through the preceding century. By the end of the second century B.C. Greek sculpture, properly so called, was practically at an end, or had at least lost all its creative power, and become a mere juggling with technical difficulties. This we see in particular in the Laocoon group, which has now been proved to date from the time of which we are speaking, and in which the sculptor's one idea is to exhibit his ingenuity in grappling with the problem which such a complicated conception entails. Art, it has been said, was no longer 'a spontaneous expression of national life and feeling, but a mere minister of luxury.'

It was, on the other hand, the aim of the school of Pasiteles to hark back to the freshness and idealism of early Greek art, in particular to the period when it was emerging from archaism into the glorious perfection of the time of Pheidias. This archaistic tendency, it is true, resulted in an excessive conventionality in the treatment of figure subjects, but, on the other hand, we find a surprising capacity for the accurate reproduction of natural forms in the decorative work of the period. In nothing is this more conspicuous than in the metal-work, of which we shall give some description in Chapter VI., and a similarly high level is also attained in the terra-cotta reliefs and some of the pottery, which form the subject of another chapter. Even in the sculptured relief-work of the period we find a minuteness and delicacy of detail which are due

SO-CALLED ORESTES AND ELECTRA BY STEPHANUS
(NAPLES MUSEUM)

partly to the influence of metal-chasing, and partly to the innovation to which allusion has already been made, that of using clay models for sculpture as well as for metal-work, which models were based on a careful study of nature, especially of the vegetable world. The execution of the flowers and foliage in such a work as the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, for instance (p. 53), is a great advance on anything the Greeks had ever done. The marble reliefs of the period, it has been noted, show technical peculiarities which are common to chased silversmith's work; and though the imitation is probably unconscious, it is none the less actual. We are told of an artist named Possis, living in the time of Augustus, that he was famous for his realistic rendering of apples and grapes, and doubtless he was a chief exponent of this decorative school.

This reaction against later Greek sensationalism came just at the time when Greek art took root in the Roman world, and Rome became the centre of art. The 'Greek Empire Style,' as it has been called, really begins in the second century B.C., but is only fully developed in the Augustan period. It was assisted by the importation of works of art from Greece, and the increase in artistic taste and connoisseurship. Thus eclecticism becomes a prominent feature in the art of the time.

But it has already been indicated that there was another school besides that associated with the name of Pasiteles; and with this other we associate the name of Arcesilaus, who flourished about 50 B.C. To a certain extent the naturalistic tendency of decorative art discussed above may be traced to the influence of this school; but this was not the only direction in which its energies were manifested. The aim of Arcesilaus was to develop the idyllic tendencies which form one of the most pleasing features of Hellenistic art, combined with a naturalistic treatment of landscape and subordinate details. He was, as M. Collignon says, 'a brilliant representative of Alexandrinism, making no concessions to archaism like Pasiteles and the "new Attic" school.'

Arcesilaus' chief claim to celebrity is that he made a famous statue of Venus Genetrix for the Forum of Julius Caesar, copies of which have been recognized on coins of the Imperial period. The type may also be recognized in some existing statues, in particular one in the Louvre (Plate XVIII.), in which the goddess is represented draped, holding up her garment with one hand, and holding in the

other the apple awarded her by the judgment of Paris. Some have seen in this type a reminiscence of the famous Aphrodite by the fifth-century sculptor Alcamenes; but in any case the conception is somewhat artificial, and the figure, with its affected pose, suggests a careful study of models rather than an original inspiration. It has already been noted that the drapery resembles the work of Stephanus, and in fact it is open to doubt whether this statue is so typical of Arcesilaus as his other works.

These include two groups, one of Centaurs carrying Nymphs, another of Cupids playing with lions. The former recalls the Centaurs by Aristeas and Papias in the Capitol, which are copied from a Hellenistic original. The latter, which belonged to the learned writer Varro, finds parallels in mosaics, especially one from Pompeii,[1] and in the drinking-cups from Bosco Reale (p. 126). In both cases the inspiration is obviously Alexandrine, and Arcesilaus has been described as popularizing 'the Alexandrine taste for boudoir mythology.' As to his affinities with the workers in metal, of which the Bosco Reale cups (also strongly influenced by Alexandria) afford evidence, it is very probable that he supplied them with the models, for which, as already noted, he was specially famous.

Of the relief-work in marble which illustrates the character of Augustan art, and in particular that of the school of Arcesilaus, one of the most striking instances is the series of reliefs which were formerly known as 'Hellenistic.' They are really pictorial in style, with backgrounds of landscape and buildings; the subjects treated vary from the heroic to the idyllic. In the ingenious arrangement of backgrounds and distances we are reminded of the Pompeian wall-paintings, and it is probable that they were employed like pictures to adorn the walls of houses. Among the best examples in Rome are one in the Palazzo Spada with Bellerophon leading Pegasus to water, one in the Capitol with Perseus and Andromeda, and one in the Villa Albani with Polyphemus and Cupid. Of more idyllic character are one at Munich representing a peasant with a heifer, and two at Vienna, one with a sheep and a lamb, the other with a lioness and her cubs. The last-named is

[1] *Museo Borbonico*, vii. Pl. 61.

THE VENUS GENETRIX OF ARCESILAUS IN THE LOUVRE

expressly associated by the critic Wickhoff, on account of its subject, with the work of Arcesilaus.

There is also a well-known example in the British Museum (Plate XIX.), which may be described as a type of the class. The subject is the visit of Bacchus to a mortal, probably to be identified as a tragic poet. The latter is represented as a beardless man reclining on a couch, with a table holding cakes and wine, and a row of tragic masks at his side. He turns to welcome Bacchus, a corpulent bearded figure wreathed with ivy, who enters supported by a young Satyr. A second Satyr draws the sandal off his right foot, and behind him follows a train of Silenus and Satyrs, all of smaller stature than the god himself. In the background is a house represented in relief, with wooden-tiled roof and two windows divided by columns, at each end of which is a tiled projection. Behind is a plane-tree indicating a courtyard round the house. The existence of this relief can be traced at Rome as far back as 1535, and it came to the Museum with the Towneley collection.

The identification of these reliefs as Augustan rather than Hellenistic is due to the artist-critic Wickhoff, whose rehabilitation of Augustan art is dealt with later. But his contention may be seen to be clearly justified by a comparison of the reliefs with the style of a monument which must now be described, the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, or altar erected by Augustus to Imperial Peace. Set up in the year 13 B.C., in honour of the emperor's victories in Spain and Gaul, it is now generally regarded as the greatest achievement of the decorative art of the Augustan age. It stood in the Campus Martius, and formed a walled enclosure with reliefs on the inner and outer sides. It was designed for the glorification of the reigning emperor, but on a new principle. The Greeks commemorated current events and contemporary heroes by monuments on which the events or triumphs were celebrated by heroic or legendary parallels, such as battles of the gods and giants or Greeks and Amazons; of such monuments we have a long series, extending over nearly four hundred years. But the *Ara Pacis* is concerned entirely with the present, if in an idealised form. Nor again is it strictly a historical monument, representing actual events, such as we see even as early as the fourth century in the sarcophagus of Alexander from Sidon, or such as the triumphal arches and columns of later emperors were to become. It is something between the

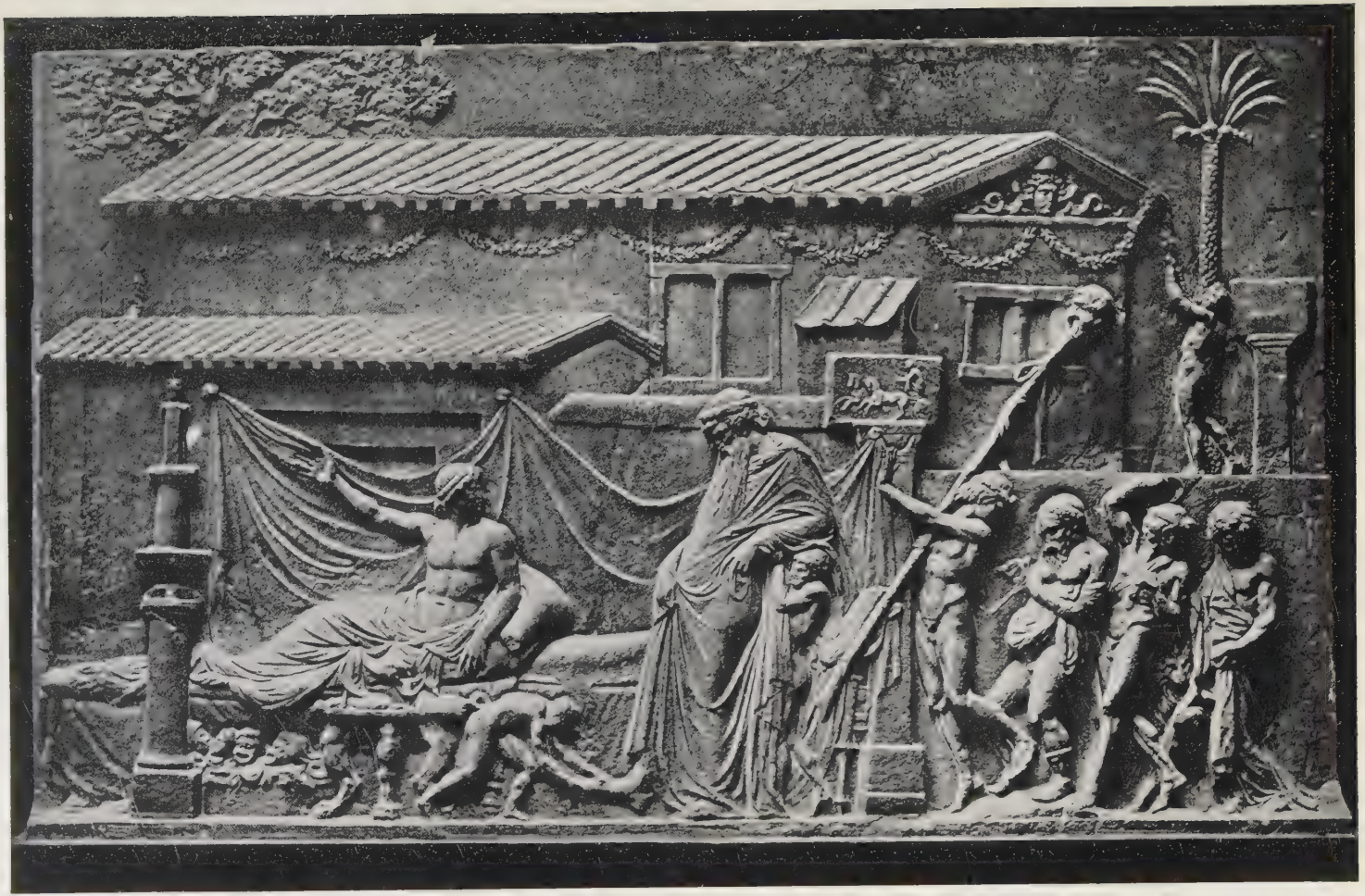
two, introducing portraiture, that is contemporary personages easily recognized by their appearance, but in an idealised setting.

The fragments of this monument, once scattered in various museums, have been gradually identified and reconstructed as a whole, the credit for which great work is mainly due to Professor Petersen. The theme of the principal sculptures is the conception of the Imperial house and the Roman nobles assembled to offer the first sacrifice at the new altar, 'a historical picture of the highest order, typifying the Roman people who conquered and governed the world.'[1] The procession in honour of the Peace-Goddess adorned the outer walls on the north and south, while on the west was an allegorical group of Tellus, the Earth-mother, with attendant deities. On the same side and on the east, sacrifices take place, the latter in the presence of the protecting gods of the city.

The Tellus group (Plate xx.) is of great interest, not only from its delicacy and charm of conception, but also from the pictorial method of treatment which enabled Wickhoff to place it in line with the 'Hellenistic' reliefs just described. In the centre of the scene is the goddess seated, a gracious figure, with two children before her, while the fruits of the earth lie in her lap, and flowers spring up around her. On either side are genii of air and water, while an ox and a sheep recline at her feet. The sacrificial scenes, on the west that of a bull, on the east that of a pig, also recall the Hellenistic reliefs, with their architectural backgrounds in perspective, the indications of landscape, and the general naturalism.

Of the two processions the more effective is the one on the south side, though the figures are not always easy to interpret. Besides groups of spectators, we see successively the various Roman officials whose names, if not their appearance, are so familiar: the lictors, the consuls, the *flamines*, and so on. The part of the Pontifex Maximus is taken by the emperor himself, and he is followed by the Empress Livia and the other members of the Imperial family. The method in which the composition is varied and broken up, in order to avoid monotony, is conspicuously successful. A comparison is naturally suggested with the frieze of the Parthenon, and though to some extent the parallelism holds good, yet on closer examination it is not so marked. In both there is a contrast between the calmness and dignity of the great personages in the culminating central

[1] Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, p. 32.



AUGUSTAN RELIEF: VISIT OF BACCHUS TO A TRAGIC POET

(BRITISH MUSEUM)

scene and the groups of attendants bringing unruly beasts up for sacrifice. But the procession on the altar is split up, not so much into two parallel, as into two successive movements, one of inferior rank to the other; and further, we have here the introduction of actual in place of typical figures, and a decorative background of garlands and foliage. It will also be seen that there is a lack of cohesion in the artistic scheme; there is, as Mrs. Strong notes, 'no dominating idea.' The composition is poor and wanting in balance; and Wickhoff's laudatory phrases must be accepted with due reservation.

The prevalence of the decorative element is, as Wickhoff has pointed out, by no means the least important. Here we have the naturalism of the Augustan style at its height; and what is more remarkable, purely decorative motives are almost for the first time treated as an integral portion of the whole scheme.[1] The base or *podium* below the outer frieze is filled by decorative scrolls of acanthus, and the entrance and side walls by an elaborate system of spirals, all conventional it may be at first sight, but on closer examination marvellously true to nature, yet skilfully varied in treatment. Interspersed here and there with swans and other birds, even with insects and reptiles, they exemplify a love of nature, and an observation both of the animal and of the vegetable world which the artist of this period extends to all his productions. Not only may we see the same effective treatment of scrolls and garlands in other works in marble, such as a sarcophagus in the Berlin Museum[2] or an altar at Arles, but also in the 'Campana' reliefs in terra-cotta, in the pottery of Arretium, and above all in the metal-work of which the Bosco Reale silver treasure is the most conspicuous example (see Chaps. VI., VII.). But on this characteristic of Augustan art, the repetition of similar motives in different materials, more will be said later.

Another monument of the same class as the *Ara Pacis*, but of earlier date, which has recently attracted attention, is equally important for the history of art, its exact date being now known. A frieze at Munich, representing the marriage of Poseidon and Amphitrite, had been previously reckoned as Greek work, until it was discovered that it belonged to the same monument as another

[1] See for illustrations from this monument, Mrs. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, Pls. 17, 18, 20.
[2] *Bonner Jahrbücher*, ciii. Pl. 3.

in the Louvre, the subject on which—the familiar Suovetaurilia, or sacrifice of a bull, sheep, and pig—was undoubtedly Roman. As, moreover, this particular form of sacrifice was only offered before or after a public campaign, it was clear that the monument had some historical reference. The place where the Munich portion was found being in the Circus Flaminius at Rome, on the site of the temple of Domitius Ahenobarbus, the friezes must have come from the altar in front of it, commemorating his naval exploits in 35-32 B.C. The style is therefore not Hellenic, but 'new Attic,' probably executed by a Greek working under older influences, but with a style of his own and great decorative skill. In the Poseidon frieze his most effective figures are purely of the late Hellenistic type, but in the scene of sacrifice they are much bolder and fresher, and not merely decorative. Furtwaengler compared them with the 'deadly boredom' of Augustan reliefs, a comparison which was perhaps unduly severe to the latter; but it cannot be denied that the *Ara Pacis* for instance has at times been somewhat over-rated.

A careful study of decorative ornament in the first century has been made by Herr Altmann,[1] chiefly in relation to the 'altar-tombs,' which, as he points out, are the predecessors of the later sculptured sarcophagi (p. 80 ff.). Their development, extending over the century, forms a sort of corollary to the ornamentation of the Augustan period. The tendency of the age to disregard material in the use of particular motives is, in his opinion, a tendency to produce the same kind of decoration in all materials rather than to imitate one material in another; but the effect of course is the same. The motives employed are purely Roman, and there is no question of a revival of the Hellenistic style. During the course of the century a change in the style of decoration may be observed, ranging from the more sparing and simple use of the Augustan period, as in the temples of Concord and Vespasian, and the earlier styles of Pompeian painting (see p. 98) to the elaborate compositions of the Flavian monuments. This is exemplified on the altar-tombs in the treatment of the festoons and garlands. Generally speaking, the tendency is to the gradual subordination of the decorative element, and its replacement by mythological or *genre* scenes, which are so typical of the second-

[1] *Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*, p. 285.

TELLUS-GROUP FROM THE ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE
(UFFIZI, FLORENCE)

century sarcophagi. The same process is at work in the Pompeian paintings.

Of these monuments the best example is the altar of Amemptus in the Louvre,[1] dating from the reign of Tiberius. The main decoration consists of a garland hanging in a festoon and supporting an eagle with outspread wings, above which is a tablet with the inscription. Over this two shorter garlands meet in a bearded mask, and on either side, forming angle-columns to the altar, stand two lighted torches resting on boars' heads. Below the festoon are a Centaur and Centauress, the one playing the lyre and carrying Cupid on his back, the other playing the pipes and carrying Psyche. It is a quaint conceit, somewhat in the style of the 'new Attic' reliefs, and recalling the idyllic character of some of the Pompeian paintings. But this somewhat conventional style was soon entirely replaced by the garlands, with their closer imitation of nature. Another fine example of the earlier style combined with the garlands is a sarcophagus in the Louvre with the death of Actaeon, dating from the beginning of the first century. Here the figures are not in large groups, as in the later examples, but within the festoons of large garlands held up by female figures, so that they are on a small scale relatively to the size of the sarcophagus. There are four scenes: the bath of Diana, the death of Actaeon, the finding of his body, and the capture of the hounds. In the first two the figures are copied from well-known types, the Diana from the Venus bathing and the Actaeon from a fifth-century original.

The age of Augustus, besides its other achievements, also brought to maturity what is perhaps the most characteristic and successful phase of Roman art, namely Portraiture. In this branch of art, the Romans not only struck out a new line in the direction of realism, but at all times attained their highest level, even in the degenerate days of the third century. Nor must we look for their most successful achievements among the representations of the most illustrious personages, that is, of the emperors; for not only was there a tendency to idealize official portraits, but these were also made in large numbers for distribution in the provinces. They must not therefore be ranked

[1] Mrs. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, Pl. 25.

too highly. On the other hand, busts of lesser men, and even those which have never been identified, have their value, showing 'with matter-of-fact, even pitiless realism' the Roman gentleman of the Augustan or Flavian period as he was. A bust in the Vatican has been described as representing 'evidently one of those clever sceptical cultured men, tinged with Epicureanism, who were characteristic of the transitional period between the Republic and the Empire.'[1] Similarly, the representations of Dacian prisoners and other barbarians in the monuments of Trajan's time 'bear witness to the breadth and seriousness of Roman perception. . . . The wild determined character of the race is admirably and largely portrayed in these heads; strength of will and grief at the dishonour of captivity, look out from the ugly barbarian features.'[2]

But for a true appreciation of the aesthetic qualities of Roman portraits we cannot do better than follow Mrs. Strong in taking as a text for this section of our subject the following words of Vernon Lee:—

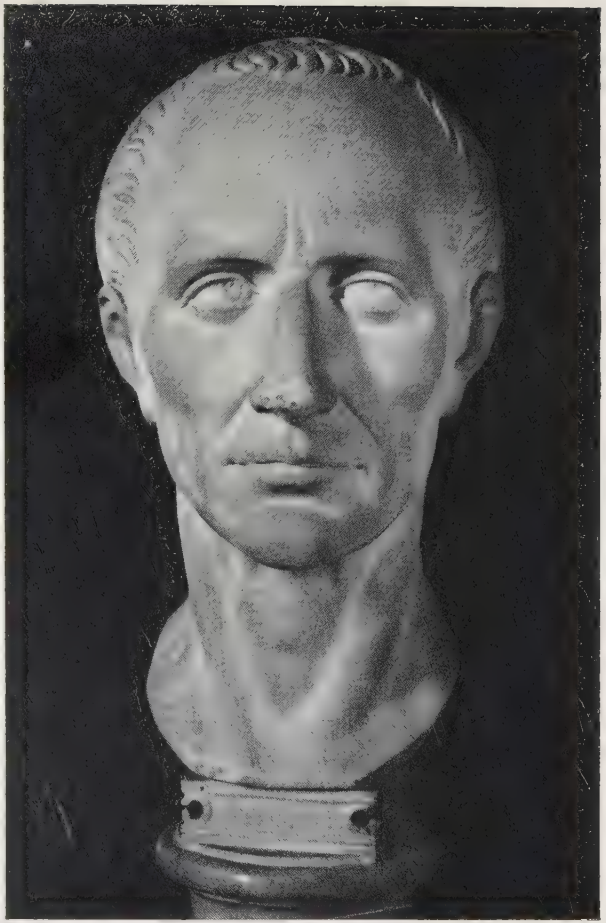
> 'But when Greek art had run its course, when beauty of form had well-nigh been exhausted or begun to pall, certain artists, presumably Greeks, but working for Romans, began to produce portrait work of quite a new and wonderful sort; the beautiful portraits of ugly old men, of snub little boys, work which was clearly before its right time, and was swamped by idealised portraits, insipid, nay inane, from the elegant revivalist busts of Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius, down to the bonnet-blocks of the lower Empire. Of this Roman portrait art, of certain heads of half-idiotic little Caesar brats, of sly and wrinkled old men, things which ought to be so ugly and yet are so beautiful, we say, at least, perhaps unformulated, we think, 'How Renaissance!' And the secret of the beauty of these few Graeco-Roman busts, which is also that of Renaissance portrait sculpture, is that the beauty is quite different in kind from the beauty of Greek ideal sculpture, and obtained by quite different means.'[3]

But realistic portraiture is far from being a new invention of the Augustan age. For its origin we must go back to the Etruscans, who produced portrait-heads in terra-cotta (p. 9), which, if inferior in style, are yet lifelike and individual. Greek portraits, on the other hand, it has been observed, have no individuality, but always attempt to realize a type. It is the typical which distinguishes Greek from Italian art, and when the Etruscans attempted to follow Greek

[1] Helbig, *Guide to Museums of Rome* (1896), i. p. 17.

[2] See Amelung, *Museums of Rome*, p. 36.

[3] *Euphorion*, p. 238.



BUSTS OF JULIUS CÆSAR AND THE YOUNG AUGUSTUS

(BRITISH MUSEUM) (VATICAN LIBRARY)

models they failed, but when following nature they paved the way for the subsequent success of the Romans in this line. This distinction between the art of Greece, *i.e.* of the East, and that of the West, is no fleeting one; it is inherent, and continued even during the Middle Ages, as we see for instance in the treatment of the Virgin Mary in Christian art. In the West her representations have always been individual, whereas in Byzantine art she was, and is still, represented by a conventional type. A further result of this tendency is, that whereas Greek artists and schools by their creations of types are easily recognizable, with the Romans it is not so; the artist is individual, and cannot be identified; his work is not copied, and he founds no school.

Thus the earliest Roman portraits are distinguished by an 'uncompromising realism' from the more idealized examples of the end of the Republican period, when Greek influence had made itself felt. Yet in giving to portraiture an impetus towards a new artistic development, this influence only fostered the genius for individualism. Of this there are many examples, particularly in the portraits of Augustus: the young Octavian of the Vatican, the cameo of the Emperor in the British Museum (see p. 121), and the head of the Prima Porta statue (see below). It may be noted here in passing that recent researches have shown how Roman portraits, when unknown, may be dated by the form of the bust, which in the Greek period were mere heads on conventional pedestals, or 'herms.' Under the earlier emperors the breast was modelled, and in the Flavian period the shoulders also; busts of Trajan's reign indicate the beginning of the arms, and those of Hadrian's the lower part of the breast as well. In the third century we often see the figure complete as far as the waist, and even the arms.

In the introduction of portraiture into the highest forms of art lay the great strength of Roman sculpture; but it was not an entirely new feature. The Greeks made portraits of their great men, from Pericles onwards, but always with a greater or less tendency to idealism. But the Romans desired to set forth their rulers and great men as they actually were; they wanted photographs, so to speak, not pictures. The realism at which they aimed was not opposed to idealism, but consisted in fidelity to originals and accurate reproduction of details. This tendency was one which

came naturally to their Etruscan progenitors, who, as we have seen (p. 8) used sculpture chiefly for such realistic purposes; and the waxen *imagines* which adorned the *atrium* of every patrician house showed that the popularity of portraiture was firmly rooted in the people.

Thus even the busts of the Republican period must not be ignored, and indeed some of them are of more than ordinary merit. They are faithful portraits of 'Romans of the old stamp, austere, severe, energetic, and of iron will; works executed with the Etruscan sense of truth, but with a modelling that more or less belongs to the skilful and graceful treatment peculiar to Greek sculpture.' Among the best examples are a bust at Rome known as L. Junius Brutus, a group in the Vatican known as Cato and Portia, and several statues of Roman citizens in the *toga*, one of which is in the British Museum. There is also in the Vatican a very striking head of an old man with wrinkled face. The same naturalism, though somewhat modified by the advance of Hellenic idealism, appears in the busts of the last years of the Republic, some of which may be considered along with the work of the Augustan age.

In the portraiture of this latter period, we see the results of the passion for realism as tempered by the influence of the Greek artists who were usually commissioned to execute these works, and to whom, with their Hellenistic training, such a style did not come naturally. But the Greek artist had perforce to solve the problem how to discover a method of producing portraits which, while adhering to artistic principles, should yield a life-like resemblance to the original. This he achieved with more or less of success. The well-known head of Julius Caesar in the British Museum (Plate XXI.), for instance, shows us, as has been said, 'the man as he lived, his features and expression, rendered with the most unsparing realism, no detail softened, if it could add to the individuality of the portrait, and it shows in its lean and expressive features the wear and waste due to a restless fiery genius. . . . If we contrast this face with that of Pericles and with that of Alexander, we see the difference, not only between the men, but also in the art that portrayed them. Pericles is almost an ideal abstraction, representing the calm and moderation of the statesman and leader. In Alexander there is more individuality, but it is tempered with an idealism which raised him above mortality. . . . But in Caesar the sculptor has

BUSTS OF TITUS AND TRAJAN
(BRITISH MUSEUM)

portrayed the conqueror who owed his success to his own consummate genius. . . . It is the man himself that the sculptor brings before us,'[1] with his wide high forehead, large thin nose, thick sinewy neck, and scanty hair, features yet more than usually refined. It must not, however, be forgotten that grave doubts have been cast on the authenticity of this head, and the surface has certainly been much worked over. But it is admitted that it shows 'knowledge of the Caesarian type,' even if the technique is modern; and as the writer quoted above points out, though a valuable index to the character of the man, it is of less importance for the history of sculpture. Many of the above remarks would apply with equal force to another head of Caesar, the genuineness of which has certainly not been doubted, although its artistic effect is somewhat marred by the nature of the material in which it is executed. This is the basalt head in the Museo Barracco, which has been described as 'showing the immense progress achieved by art in the direction of expressiveness and emotion.'[2]

The head of the young Augustus in the Vatican (Plate XXI.) shows much more of the Greek spirit,[3] as well as the delicacy of Greek modelling, yet combined with the accurate and precise rendering of nature. Still more is this the case with the famous statue of the great Emperor from Prima Porta in the same museum (*Frontispiece*). Here the artist seems to be subduing his natural instincts in order to produce a life-like portrait. The reliefs on the breastplate of the statue are a close imitation of metal-work, and the whole points to a previous modelling in clay, in which an exact observation of nature is manifest. This statue has been thought to be inspired by, though not imitated from, a Polycleitan model; and this would not be surprising in the period when copying was so much in fashion.

We cannot do better than quote the description of this remarkable work recently given by a German writer.[4] 'He stands as *Imperator* in splendid armour, his right arm raised in the attitude of official speech to his army. Nothing of human fate is legible in

[1] Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, p. 513.

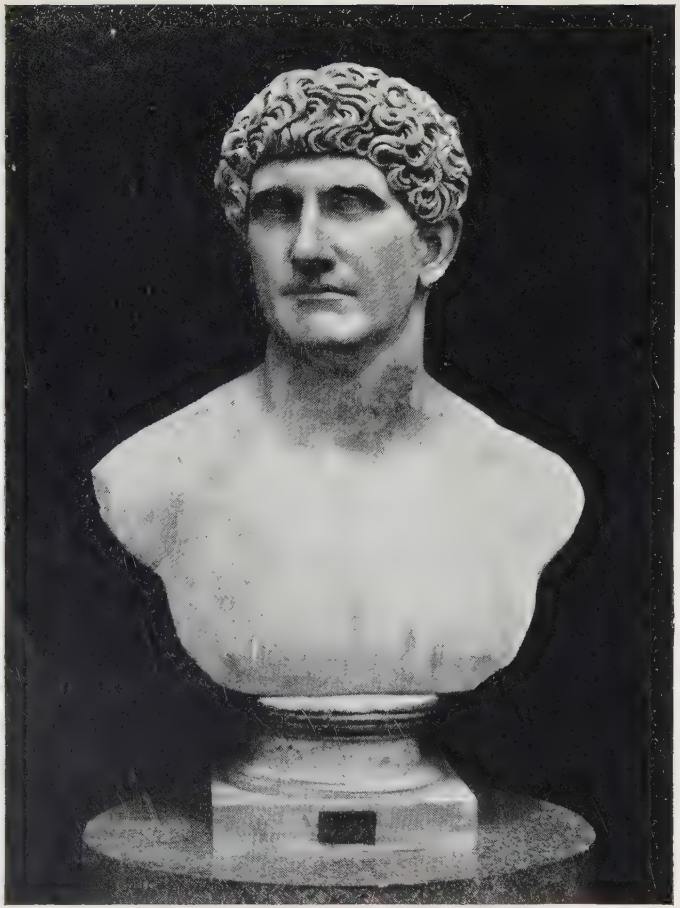
[2] Mrs. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, p. 353.

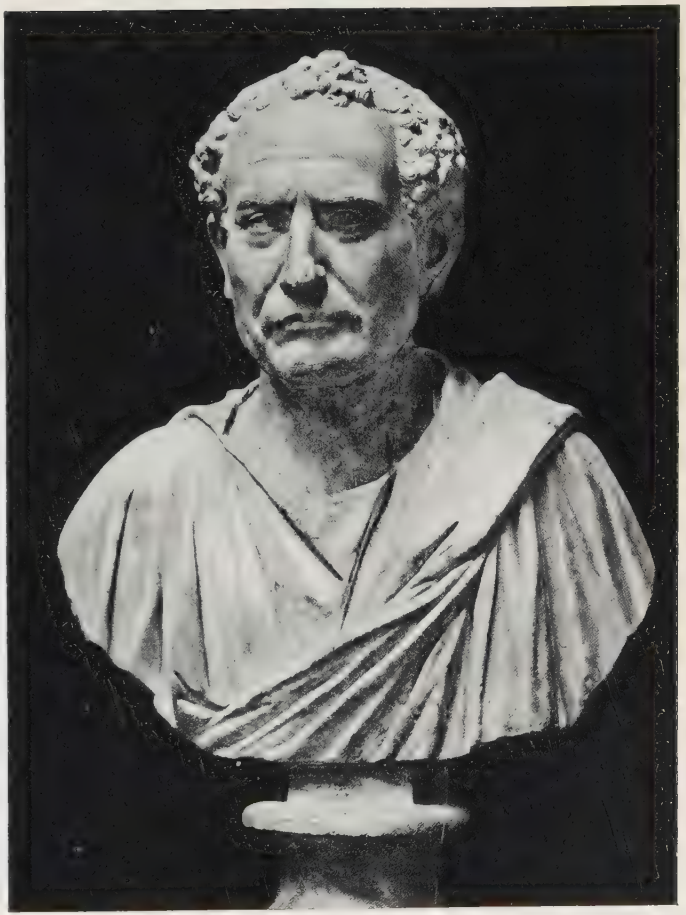
[3] Mr. Wace calls attention to the 'cold Hellenic classicism of this time,' regarding Augustus as 'the Apostle of Hellenism' in the west (*Roman Portraiture*, p. 4).

[4] Amelung, *Museums of Rome*, p. 32.

his countenance; we only recognize the distinguished physiognomy of the emperor by the general features, the fullness of which has begun to be wasted by approaching age. The reliefs on his cuirass, however, tell something of the world and of history; at the top we behold Coelus, the god of heaven, stretching out of the clouds; below him on the left dives the Sun-god with his four horses, preceded by the goddess of the morning dew (she is pouring it from a little pitcher) and by the morning-glow, a figure with a large torch, who arises immediately behind the other. As heaven is depicted above, so is the earth, in the shape of a reclining goddess, below; she holds the horn of plenty as a symbol of inexhaustible fertility, and the two children mark her as mother of the human race. On her right and left stand Apollo and Artemis. Apollo was the especial patron of Augustus, who himself was honoured as a new Apollo. In the centre stands a youth in full armour accompanied by a dog, and opposite to him a barbarian lowering a Roman standard in order to lay it in the outstretched hand of the youth. This is Mars, the Roman god of war and protector of the Empire; the watchful dogs were sacred to him. The barbarian is a Parthian, and the scene refers to the surrender of the standards which had formerly been torn from the legions of Crassus by the Parthians. . . . . On the right and left sit figures mourning; they are women, but dressed in a masculine manner, like the Amazons, and are thereby recognizable as personifications of two nations; their grief shows that they are conquered. The figure on the right may be known, by the dragon on the trumpet and the wild boar on the standard, as Gallia; that on the left by the elaborately decorated sword as Hispania.' Thus the whole decoration of the cuirass is intended as a glorification of the emperor and his achievements, which had secured peace throughout the Empire; and its *motif* is similar to that of the *Ara Pacis* which has already been described.

In the portraits of the succeeding emperors there is not much to note, and none of them were men on whom posterity could look back with any satisfaction. Some of the portraits of other Imperial personages are, however, more attractive, and in particular we may mention the exquisite little bust of Agrippina in green plasma recently acquired by the British Museum, which is illustrated on Plate LII. Under the Flavian dynasty may be observed a





TWO PORTRAITS OF PRIVATE PERSONS OF THE FLAVIAN PERIOD

(IN THE VATICAN, ROME, AND THE UFFIZI, FLORENCE)

great change, due to the weakening of the Hellenistic element. Etruscan influence and training once more assert themselves, and find their most vivid expression in the realism of the portraits.[1] It has already been noted that for the most favourable specimens of the art we must look, not to Imperial personages, who, it has been said, are 'frankly vulgar,' but to some of the portraits of unknown people which undoubtedly belong to this epoch. The sculptors, who must have been of Greek origin, show special skill in their combination of Hellenistic execution with Italian accuracy in the reproduction of details and truthfulness to nature. There can be no question that under the Flavian emperors portraiture reaches its highest point.

Of the Emperor Titus we have an admirable bust in the British Museum (Plate XXII.), which may be well compared with a portrait statue in the Vatican. The face of the latter 'suggests in the clearest manner his two most prominent characteristics—his marked sensuality and the high degree of benevolence which curiously enough accompanied it.' The portraits of private personages have formed the subject of a recent study by Mr. Crowfoot,[2] who has described some typical examples, with reference to their place in the Flavian art-revival. He points out that their excellence consists in the contrast to the stiff lifeless conventions of the Augustan age, a result brought about by the 'illusionism' seen in the sculptures of the Arch of Titus (p. 73). Each portrait is, like a modern photograph, the reproduction of a passing impression; and thus we see in one the ironical sceptic, in another the 'polished urbanity and gymnastic vigour of a man in the highest circles of Society,' in a third a typical homely shoemaker of the Rome of Domitian.

The bust of Trajan, of which there are examples in the British Museum (Plate XXII.) and the Vatican, is described by one writer as showing a dispassionate and resolute expression; and he is much more the typical old Roman than many of his more cultivated and refined-looking predecessors. This type is exemplified not only in the aquiline nose, but in the broad and low forehead, the angular chin, and the firm compressed lips, while 'the thick and straight-cut hair,

[1] Cf. Wace, *Rom. Portraiture*, p. 4. He traces the growth and final triumph of Roman naturalism from Claudius to Vespasian, especially as exemplified in the rendering of unpleasant features with uncompromising faithfulness.

[2] *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, xx. p. 31. Plate XXIII. gives two of these portraits.

smoothed over the brow . . . marks the simplicity of the man's character.'[1] Mr. A. J. B. Wace considers that under this emperor there is a decline in lifelikeness and naturalism; the style of the period 'lacks atmosphere,' and is cold and spiritless, though there is no lack of the brilliant execution of the Flavian period.

His successor Hadrian is a great contrast. The busts of this emperor, says Gregorovius, 'show a foreign, not a Roman face, possessing neither the beauty of the Julian family nor the mild gravity of the features of Trajan. . . . This marble face does not convey the impression of all that was contained in the character of this strange man. He was a mass of contradictions, which no single portrait could display.' Merivale's estimate is on somewhat similar lines: 'Hadrian's person and countenance corresponded well with his character. With him the Roman type of features begins to disappear. He is neither Greek nor Roman; he is of no race or country; but rather what we might deem the final result of a blending of many breeds and the purest elements. He reminds us more than any Roman before him of what we proudly style the thorough English gentleman. . . . His face and figure are both eminently handsome, though inclining to breadth and bulk. His countenance expresses ability rather than genius, lively rather than deep feelings, wide and general sympathies rather than concentrated thought or fixed enthusiasm. The sensual predominates in him over the ideal, the flesh over the spirit; he is an administrator rather than a statesman, a man of taste rather than a philosopher.'

It is to be noted that Hadrian was the first Roman whose bust is distinguished by a beard, and his adoption of this fashion has been thought to imply his Hellenic and philosophical sympathies. It was generally adopted by his successors, and indicates a growth of cosmopolitan feelings at Rome. A fine bust of Hadrian was found in his villa at Tivoli, clad in armour and military cloak, and in the British Museum there is also a statue of him in full armour as a general.[2] In calling attention to the Greek feeling in his portraits, Mr. Wace regards them as an attempt to purify the individual type without generalizing, and so to show the man as he should be, rather than as he is. Similarly the representations of Antinous, which we have dealt with elsewhere (p. 78), in spite of

[1] Wace, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[2] See also p. 173.

BUSTS OF MARCUS AURELIUS AND CARACALLA

(BRITISH MUSEUM) (BERLIN MUSEUM)

idealizing, betray by the sulky expression the character of the individual.

Though somewhat interrupting the chronological treatment of Roman sculpture as a whole, it may be found convenient to discuss the portraiture as a whole, and continue the subject here down to the end of our period. We pass on therefore to the Antonine age. At this time, Mr. Wace points out, Greek influence was still felt, but weakly. Technical skill is retained, but devotes its attention to the working out of a new problem, that of indicating the difference in the texture of hair and skin. The result is accurate modelling, but at the expense of life and inspiration. There are, however, some fine examples of portraiture in the latter part of the second century, as for instance in the case of the two empresses, the elder and the younger Faustina, whose handsome features and elegantly-dressed hair are conspicuous even in the reduced scale of their coins. The latter's husband, Marcus Aurelius, is well represented by the famous equestrian statue (p. 83), and also by a bust in the British Museum (Plate XXIV.); and another typical figure of the period is his associate in the government, Lucius Verus. It is interesting to compare for their curious physical resemblance, in spite of the great difference of character, the portraits of Marcus Aurelius and his successor Commodus. The latter had a predilection for appearing in the guise of Hercules or other deities, and an interesting bronze bust has recently been published[1] in which he appears as the god Mithras. It is about ten inches high, and represents Commodus at about the age of thirty, its date being therefore about A.D. 190. He is bearded, and wears a Phrygian cap ornamented with stars, his hair and beard being gilt. On the base of the bust are *genre* scenes of an idyllic character like those on Augustan reliefs (p. 52). As a study of character the bust is finely conceived; the face beautiful and vigorous, but self-indulgent and egotistical.

In the busts of the period between Commodus and Septimius Severus the two chief features are the attempt to obtain pictorial effects of light and shadow, and the use of the drill for curls of hair, as may be observed in a bust of Commodus at Rome. Another trait is the indication by carving of the pupil of the eye, which,

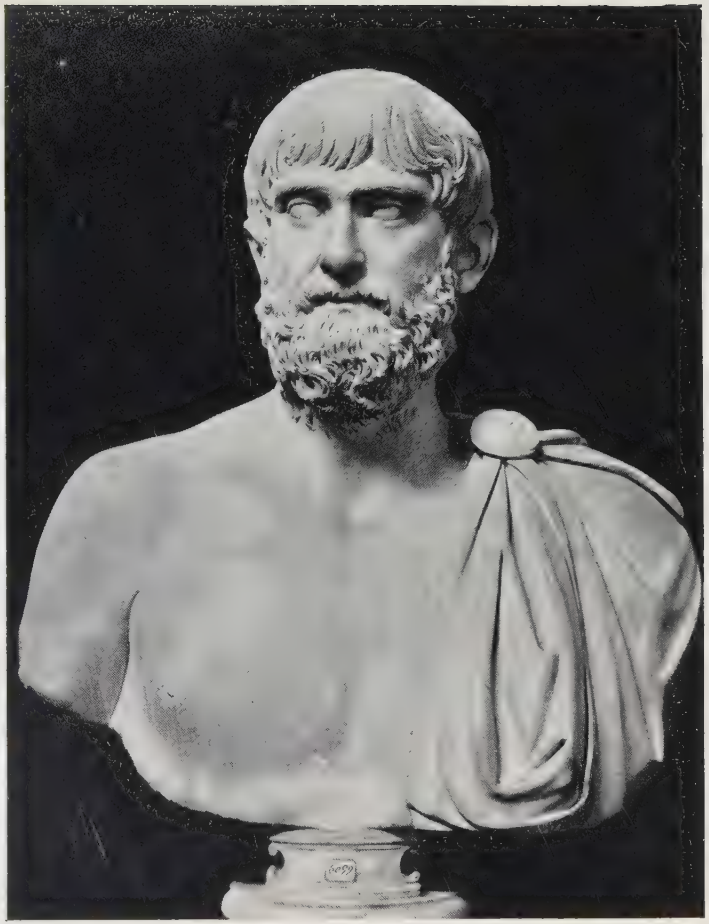
[1] By Mr. (now Sir) Cecil Smith in the *Burlington Magazine*, xiii. 1908, p. 252.

though first introduced in Hadrian's time, is best exemplified under Commodus, and gives (says Mrs. Strong) such a lifelike character to the portraits of the first half of the third century. A finely realistic portrait of this period, and one which well illustrates the pictorial tendency, is that of Caracalla, existing in many similar replicas (Plate XXIV.). All of these exhibit the same terrible ferociousness which characterized this most savage of all the wearers of the purple. The barbarian features of Septimius Severus betray his non-Italian origin.

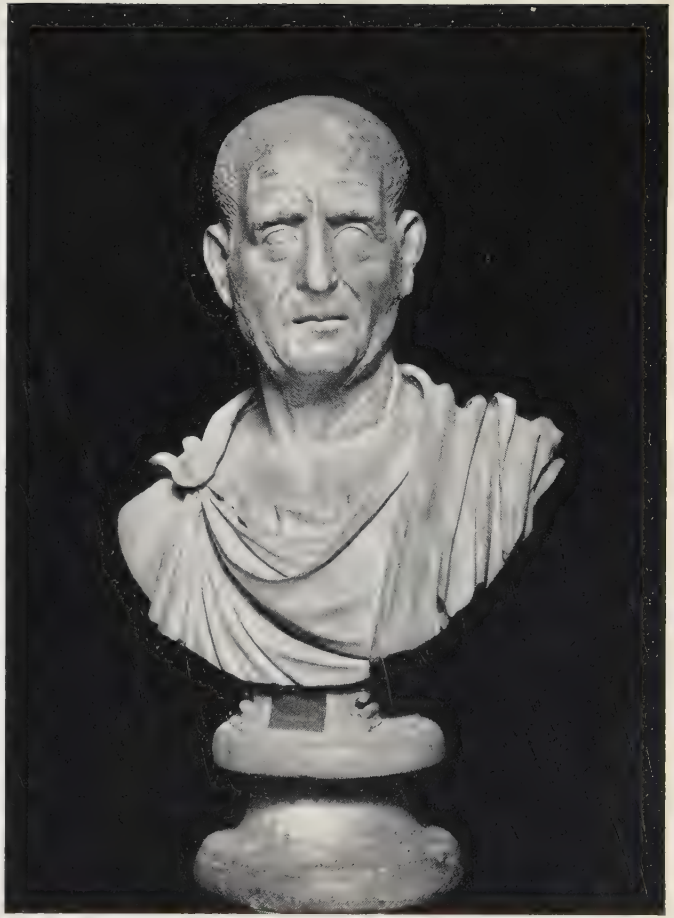
Of later third-century emperors the most effective portraits are those of Maximinus Thrax, Pupienus, Philippus Arabs, and Decius. The bust of Pupienus in the Vatican is a powerful example of later realism, and there is another good one in the Capitoline Museum. That of Decius in the latter collection (Plate XXV.) has aroused the enthusiasm of Riegl, who says that it 'could not be called significant of artistic decay.' In Philippus Arabs the portraiture of this time reaches its highest point, in a bust in the Vatican, of which Mr. Wace says 'the vivid characterization and sympathetic rendering are only spoiled by the unnatural treatment of the hair.' There are also some good female portraits, those of the Emesene empresses being chiefly remarkable for their head-dresses. These busts show how firmly the national art of portraiture could hold its own when all other branches had fallen or were falling into hopeless decadence.

Of the end of this century and the age of Constantine few portraits remain. In most of those which exist the new principle of 'frontality' makes its appearance, 'which in the ensuing period of decadence dominates and preserves art.' This rigidity and squareness of pose becomes yet more marked under Constantine, and finds its culmination in the art of the Byzantine mosaics.

A typical development of Roman portrait-sculpture in the Augustan and succeeding periods is the representation of living Imperial personages in deified form or under some quasi-mythological guise. Of this we find many examples in bronze and marble from Augustus to Commodus. Whether the famous Clytie in the British Museum (Plate XXVI.) is to be regarded as coming under this category is somewhat doubtful; though certainly a portrait of a lady of the Augustan Age, it is open to question whether she is here idealized, and the traditional name at all events must be renounced.



IMPERIAL BUST, UNIDENTIFIED, OF EARLY THIRD-CENTURY DATE
(NAPLES MUSEUM)



BUST OF THE EMPEROR DECIUS
(CAPITOL, ROME)

The combination of bust and flower has no special significance, but is purely decorative, and the treatment of a human head or bust in this manner, rising from the calyx of a flower, is a favourite motive in later Greek art. The name of Clytie was given to the figure by its former owner, Charles Towneley, after the nymph who was beloved by the sun-god and was changed into a flower. It is a portrait of a lady of great beauty, with somewhat aquiline nose, and hair plaited and knotted at the back in a fashion which is well known to be characteristic of the time. She has been identified with Antonia, the daughter of Mark Antony and mother of Germanicus.

This work may serve as affording a transition from the subject of portraiture to another phase of Roman art. The history of Roman sculpture would not be complete without the mention of a feature in which it largely found expression, namely the employment of personifications of abstract ideas and localities. This tendency is by no means foreign to Greek art, even in the earliest times; but it was only very gradually that it became general and far-reaching. With the Romans it was partly due to the influence of Hellenistic and Alexandrine art, partly to their fondness for adding to their pantheon of deities abstract conceptions concerned with every action or event of daily life. An excellent example of the extent to which they carried personification is afforded by the Imperial coinage, with its commemoration of such deities as Annona (Market Prices), Hilaritas (Mirth), and so on.

In the domain of sculpture personifications are rare, but there are examples in the Victory of Brescia, the Fortuna of Antium, and the so-called Thusnelda at Florence, probably representing Germania. It is in minor works of art that they are most frequently found. We may, however, take as a typical specimen the well-known relief in the British Museum representing the Apotheosis of Homer. It is the work of Archelaus of Priene in Asia Minor, and has been usually supposed to date from the reign of Tiberius; but some authorities maintain that it is actually a work of the Hellenistic period, and in the absence of other evidence, the possibility must be admitted. One noteworthy feature of the relief is the ignoring of unity in time, Zeus being represented as sanctioning the apotheosis which below is depicted as actually taking place. Hence it has been described as an 'attempt to write a story in

compartments of marble.' But for our present purpose it is sufficient to note the personifications employed. Surrounding the poet are figures of Time and the World, Myth and History, Poetry, Tragedy, and Comedy, and two small figures of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, respectively characterized by holding a sword and the prow of a ship. Beyond these are a group of more abstract conceptions: Nature, Virtue, Memory, Faith and Wisdom, which, if we regard Faith as equivalent to 'imagination,' may be considered to signify the qualities which pre-eminently distinguished the poet himself. The upper part of the scene is occupied by figures of Zeus, Apollo, and the nine Muses. The names of the personifications are all inscribed below them; and as it has been pointed out, the relief would hardly be intelligible otherwise, as the characterization is very slight.

IDEALISED PORTRAIT OF IMPERIAL LADY (THE SO-CALLED CLYTIE)
(BRITISH MUSEUM)

CHAPTER IV

LATER ROMAN SCULPTURE (VESPASIAN TO CONSTANTINE)

'Illusionism'—Historical monuments—Sculptures of the Arch of Titus —The Haterii monument—Trajan's column—The Arch at Beneventum —Antinous—Hadrianic and later sarcophagi—The column and statue of Marcus Aurelius—Mithras monuments—The Asia Minor sarcophagi —The age of Constantine.

WE have seen in dealing with the portraits that there was a great impetus given to art under the Flavian emperors, and that this change was due to the rise of Roman native artists, who, in opposition to the classical and exotic art of the Augustan age, the work of Greek artists imbued with Hellenistic ideas, produced a new national art, distinguished by its realism and vigour. Roman art was now in fact at its greatest, and reached a pitch which on the whole was maintained down to the period of the Antonines. But its main characteristics did not remain unchanged throughout this period. Under the Flavian dynasty the chief aim of the artist was an imitative naturalism, intended to give an impression of real objects or persons by means of a principle which has been termed *Illusionism*, of which we shall have more to say presently. But under Trajan a different tendency is at work, with the introduction of the historical monument or pictorial chronicle of actual events. Lastly, under Hadrian, with his artistic but somewhat dilettante enthusiasm, art attained a general popularity which hitherto it had hardly reached; but this was attended by an archaistic reaction which exhausted itself in the imitation and repetition of classical Greek types. Though much was produced in his reign in the way of good and careful copies of Greek work —invaluable to the modern student—originality and creative genius are somewhat at a discount.

The historical monument, which is actually introduced in the Flavian period, but is most characteristically developed under

Trajan, is a typically Roman development of sculpture, whether in the form of architectural reliefs, triumphal arches, or single columns, the decoration of which commemorates recent conquests or other historical events. Its origin must be sought in the ancient local custom of commemorating events in tombs or on tablets used in triumphs and then hung up. The Romans had an instinct for descriptive narrative; and their monuments naturally came to be decorated with the record of the events they celebrated. The artists adopted the Hellenistic Greek style, as providing the best models, and also the largeness of style, elaborate planning, and picturesque detail which is seen in the Arch of Titus and in that of Trajan at Beneventum—with less purity in the column of Trajan and the Aurelian reliefs inserted in the Arch of Constantine. Incipient decline is shown in the column of Marcus Aurelius and the Arch of Septimius Severus, complete decadence in the Arch of Constantine.

But valuable as the achievements of this form of art are to the historian and the antiquarian student, we shall see that they really sin against some of the principal canons of true art, displaying the absence of a genuine decorative instinct and a failure to recognize limitations of material and technique. It is rather for their subjects than for their artistic treatment that they interest us, and also as illustrating the national bent for Historical Sculpture, like the portraits, which were made with the view of preserving the personality of the great men of Rome. The idea is not indeed a wholly new one in art; the Nereid monument furnishes us with a good example of Greek achievement in this direction.

As monuments of the post-Augustan period, the most important of which are associated with the names of Titus, Trajan, and Marcus Aurelius, these sculptures have recently served as a text for a very stimulating essay put forward by the German critic Wickhoff. He endeavours to show how they illustrate an entirely new principle, which characterizes Roman art in the period succeeding the Augustan age. His theories have not indeed found general acceptance, but they cannot be ignored in any subsequent discussion of the subject, and they are at least interesting as representing the views of one who is an artist rather than an archaeologist.

Wickhoff's contention is that the art of the post-Augustan age finds its chief expression in what he styles 'illusionism,' correspond-

ing more or less to the impressionist style of modern painters. But the correspondence is rather one of principle than of method. In each case the aim of the artist is to produce a certain optical result for the spectator, but whereas the modern painter obtains it by the manipulation of patches of colour, the Roman sculptor's plan was to treat the figures of his relief with complete disregard of their architectural surroundings. It is a method really derived from the pictorial art of the time, as we find it illustrated at Pompeii (p. 105). The rapid growth of this principle, Wickhoff considers, is the result of the preparatory work done by the imitative naturalistic school. It is first manifested, not in the portrait-busts but in the reliefs, just as the transformation of decorative ideas took place, not on public monuments, but on private ones, such as the tomb of the Haterii (p. 73).

In the Arch of Titus, where the subject is that of the sacred vessels captured from the Temple at Jerusalem being carried in a triumphal procession, we are intended to look at a picture of a procession marching past through an open frame. This is achieved in part by working the back row of figures in flat relief on the background, so that they cast no shadow. 'A frame is simply thrown open, and through it we look at the march past of the triumphal procession. We are to believe that the people are moving there before our eyes; we are no longer to be reminded of pictures; rather the plastic art tries to attain by its own methods the same effect as would a highly developed art of painting—the impression of complete illusion. Beauty of line, symmetry of parts, such as a conventional art demands, are no longer sought for. Everything is concentrated on the one aim of producing an impression of continuous motion. Air, light and shade, are all pressed into the service, and must help to conjure up reality. The relief has "Respirazion," like the pictures of Velasquez.'[1] In other words, it is a discovery by sculpture of a third dimension; even sculpture in the round has hitherto developed only on the same lines as painting. But, as Mrs. Strong has pointed out, it was an achievement of doubtful merit; 'the flatter treatment of Trajanic art seems more appropriate to architectural decoration.'

In combination with the above theory, the same writer maintains that this later stage of Roman art introduces a new method of

[1] Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, p. 78.

telling a story, that of the *continuous narrative*, or representing several scenes of an event as taking place simultaneously. Greek art, he says, knew only two methods of telling a story, the *isolating* and the *complementary*. The latter aims at the complete expression of everything happening before and after the central event, or which concerns the main subject; some figures are not necessarily repeated, but others are introduced to express the different actions; but the point is that all are united in one space without regard to time. This was of Oriental origin, and is to be seen in the description of the shield of Achilles. The other method, the isolating, is developed from it, and is purely Greek. The subject is composed of single isolated events collected together, as in the red-figured cups with the labours of Theseus made at Athens in the fifth century.

But that the continuous method is wholly new or purely Roman in origin, can hardly be maintained. It has, in fact, been pointed out that it is an essentially childish idea, and as such is a universal factor in early and savage art. That is why it is admitted by the Romans, who had less artistic perception than the Greeks, and it is also the reason why the early Christians took to it so naturally. What Wickhoff really means is that Roman artists of the time of Trajan were the first to introduce a method of telling a story in which not only successive actions were represented as all taking place together, but the same personage was represented as taking part in all or several at once. This method was afterwards regularly adopted in Christian art, as, indeed, it is the purpose of Wickhoff's book to show. But we must postpone for the present the consideration of Trajan's column as an illustration of this principle, and return to the art of the Flavian period.

The reliefs on the arch of Titus, the artistic qualities of which we have already discussed, commemorate, as has been stated, the triumph of Titus after the capture of Jerusalem. They fall into two divisions, that on the left depicting the emperor on his triumphal car, crowned by Victory; the horses are led by the goddess Roma, and the car is surrounded by twelve lictors and citizens in civil and military costume. On the right is a procession with the spoils of the Temple (Plate XXVII.), including the table of showbread and the seven-branched candlestick, accompanied by laurel-wreathed citizens bearing standards. They advance towards the Porta Triumphalis

THE SPOILS FROM THE TEMPLE AT JERUSALEM, FROM THE ARCH OF TITUS AT ROME

in the Campus Martius, which is shown in perspective. The sculptures are throughout distinguished by lifelikeness and delicate modelling: but the dangerously pictorial character of Roman relief-work, with its crowded groups and perspective arrangement of planes, is somewhat disturbing to the eye. Yet, as far as the treatment of the details of drapery and figures is concerned, all is excellent. Wickhoff considers that the group on the left is less successful than the other, being an ideal subject made to simulate reality.

The 'illusionism' of the Flavian period is best seen in the portraiture, to which reference has already been made, and in the treatment of the vegetable world. The latter is well illustrated by a relief in the Lateran Museum, unearthed by Wickhoff, with an exquisite design of lemon and quince branches with their fruit; and by a relief from the Basilica Aemilia, with acanthus scrolls, which it is instructive to compare with those of the *Ara Pacis* and others of the Augustan period. Another monument which has attracted some attention in connexion with Wickhoff's theories is that of the Haterii in the Lateran Museum, dating about A.D. 100 (Plate XXVIII). It is ornamented with a series of reliefs, on which are represented the Colosseum, the Arch of Titus, and two other triumphal arches, and the temples of Isis and Jupiter Stator. The scene is clearly laid on the Sacred Way, along which the funeral procession of the Haterii would have passed, as depicted on the relief when complete; but it is now very fragmentary. But the detail which calls for special notice is a three-sided pilaster, decorated with a lamp-stand wreathed with roses. As to the artistic merit of the work as a whole, it is maintained by some critics to be almost barbaric, but Wickhoff considers it one of the best examples of the 'illusionist' style. His remarks on this rose-pillar are worth quoting as a specimen of his criticism. It is not, he holds, a dull imitation or conventional rendering of nature, but an 'impression' of a rose-bush growing round the stand.

> 'The whole success of the design depends on the *impression* of a graceful twining plant, stirred by the wind, and alive with opening buds and fragrant blossoms. Therefore the individual twigs and leaves do not closely follow the natural model . . . but emphasis is laid on whatever would heighten the desired effect of movement and bloom, while any detail likely to disturb it is suppressed. The sculptor . . . was merely making a memory-picture of a full-blown flower, and from the force of old habit he [has given the rose]

> the architectonic form of a quatrefoil rosette. But . . . he had carefully studied the buds on a rose-tree in bloom, and had noticed how they looked at different stages of growth before they opened out. It did not occur to him to copy bit by bit the details of a rose-bush. In his *naïveté*, wherever he thought he possessed a complete artistic idea, as in the case of a full-blown rose, he left it unaltered, but where there was no accepted memory-image to refer to, he created a new one by accurate observation of natural forms.'[1]

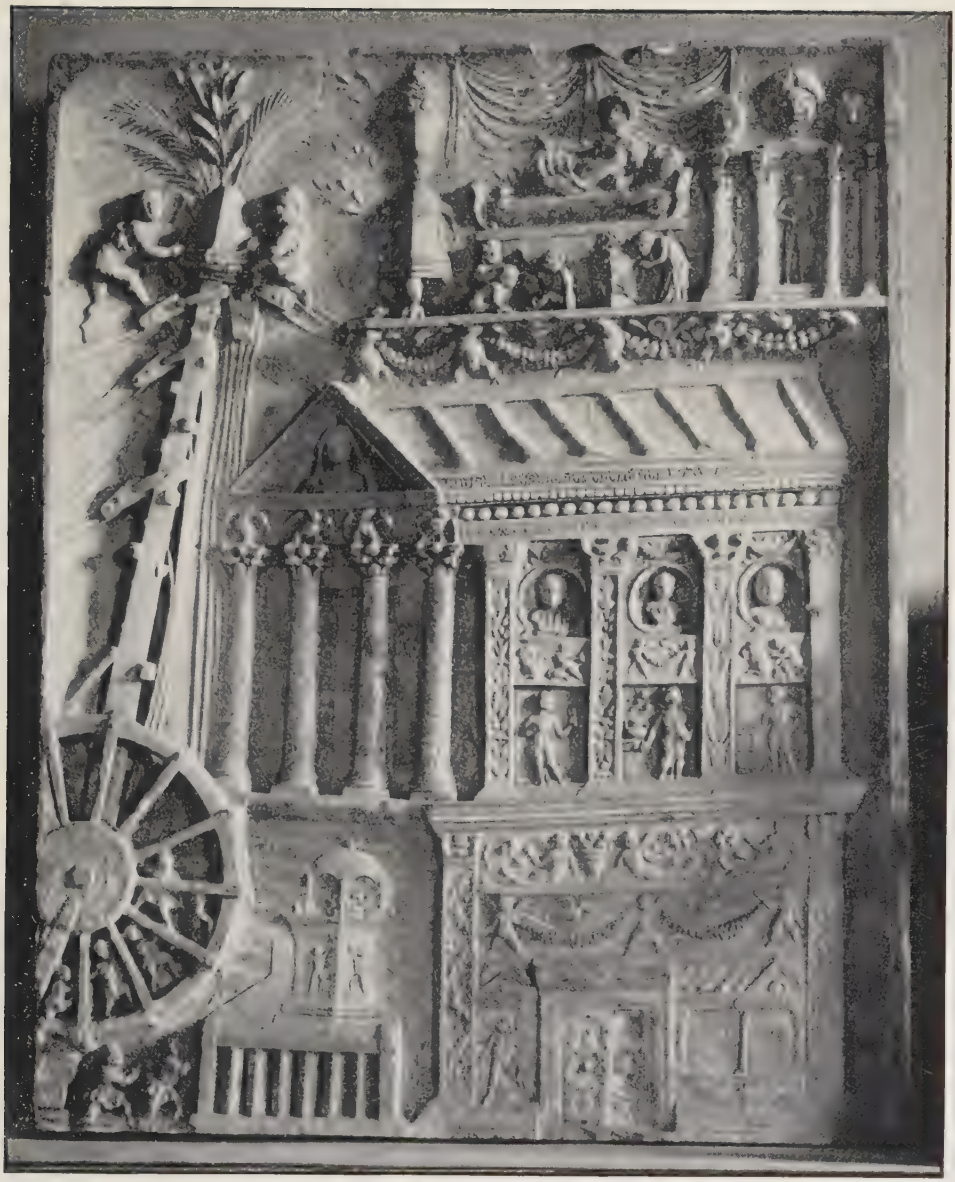
It is certainly an abandonment of Greek conventions and the 'naturalism' of the Augustan age, in the direction of realism. While we find it impossible to concede the enthusiastic claim of the German critic, that the Romans here solved the problem of winning for art the manifold variety of nature—that credit might more fairly be claimed by the Japanese, to whom, indeed, he compares the older nation—we can admit the delicate beauty of this one fragment; the rest, though interesting from the subjects, are artistically worthless.

To the reign of Domitian may now be assigned the medallions on the arch of Constantine, which were formerly placed in that of Trajan. They represent hunting and sacrificial scenes in which the emperor takes part, and the former may be grouped in pairs, each showing a climax respectively of the danger and glory of hunting. Mr. H. S. Jones[2] has shown that the physiognomies of the chief actors are of Flavian type, and also that the head of the emperor is that of a Flavian, worked over to represent a third-century successor. It is probable that other works, of not less striking merit, must also now be assigned to this reign, and go far to vindicate the character of Domitian, of whom nothing good was formerly said or believed. But he is gradually being revealed as a real patron of art, and the panegyrics showered upon him by the poets Martial and Statius are thus being justified. Nor must it be forgotten that the Arch of Titus is really a work of the same reign.

We thus reach the time of Trajan and the series of remarkable sculptures in relief by which it is distinguished. Of these the earliest in point of date are probably the series of reliefs from Trajan's Forum, taken by Constantine the Great to adorn his triumphal arch (Plate XIV.) which Wickhoff claims as an example of the 'continuous' style. They have been described as 'an epic in

[1] *Roman Art*, p. 52.

[2] *Papers of Brit. School at Rome*, iii. p. 229 ff.



PART OF THE MONUMENT OF THE HATERII IN THE LATERAN ROME

FLAVIAN PERIOD

stone, yet highly dramatic,' and represent the emperor's military exploits and triumphs. Both battles and victories are crowded into one narrow space, and 'extreme naturalness of movement,' says Wickhoff, 'is combined with an ideal treatment of time.' This continuous method is, in fact, an artistic device to produce a vivid impression of having witnessed an uninterrupted succession of events. One of the most striking of these reliefs represents a Dacian striking at a Roman soldier, with a wattled hut in the background.[1]

The column of Trajan, which was erected in the Forum built by that emperor, and stands there to this day, encircled with its spiral series of reliefs commemorating the triumph over the Dacians, is a cardinal instance of the 'continuous' method. Its most conspicuous feature is the prominence given to the emperor as the centre of every part of the composition. 'Twenty-three times does the emperor appear in the representation of his one campaign, and if we follow the twenty-three windings of the column's spiral, we find that he comes in more than ninety times. . . . This repetition is far from wearisome. If we . . . have once grasped how Trajan is present everywhere, decides everything, orders everything, and sees his orders carried out, takes every kind of toil upon himself, and then in the triumph of victory becomes the centre of all homage—nay, so soon as we even begin to grasp this, all accessory interest shrinks before the interest in *him* everywhere; wherever war is going on we want to know what he is doing, and in every fresh event we are dissatisfied till we have found out his striking person. The method of constant repetition, though to the reflective faculty it may seem to break up artistic unity, excites the imagination of the spectator who . . . carries back the impression that he has really been through the campaign at the emperor's side. . . . It is the continuous method of representation which alone can arouse this feeling' (Wickhoff, p. 112).

The various scenes comprise almost every possible incident of warfare as well as the triumphal celebrations consequent on its successful completion. They are invaluable to the historian and antiquary, not only for the light they throw on the actual events of the campaign, but for the information they afford us as to military costume and methods of warfare. They are not, like Greek archi-

[1] Mrs. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, Pl. 49.

tectural sculpture, artistic compositions, but are really more like those of Egypt and Assyria, a collection of scenes and episodes commemorating actual events. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the adaptation of the decoration to the form of the monument is most skilfully achieved, and that the selection of the spiral principle seems to have adequately solved the problem. Not the least satisfactory feature of the composition is the wonderful variety, not only in the treatment of the scenes, which often represent the same action, but in the background, whether of landscape or architecture. They have been described as 'the design of one man and the work of many.'

The column contains in all 2500 figures, arranged on some four hundred slabs. They fall into two principal divisions, each narrating the exploits of a distinct campaign against the Dacians.[1] In the first, the locality is indicated as the banks of the Danube, up which the Romans are marching, crossing the stream by bridges of boats in two divisions, one led by the emperor. Entering the camp which is their goal, they hold a council of war, followed by a *lustratio*, a ceremonial sacrifice associated with the beginning of a campaign. Further on we see animated preparations in progress for the fortification of the camp. This is followed by an engagement with the Dacians, their defeat, and subsequent embassy for peace. The campaign reopens with the scene of a Roman city on the Danube, from which the emperor voyages up the river with a view to a night-attack on the enemy's camp; this is followed by a pitched battle, in which the Dacians are again defeated and many taken prisoners. The third and last section of this division repeats many of the preceding episodes, but the battle scene is much more elaborated. Its consummation is the reception by Trajan of the conquered Dacians and their chieftain Decebalus.

In the second campaign the emperor sets sail from Ancona, the buildings of which town are graphically depicted, as are the incidents of the embarkation and arrival at another port, perhaps Ravenna. They arrive among friendly tribes on the opposite coast, and a great sacrifice takes place. Attacks on Dacian and Roman camps respectively follow, and here, it may be noted, we have a representation of Trajan's famous bridge over the Danube. Here, at the city of

[1] A fully detailed description will be found in Mrs. Strong's book, Chaps. vii-viii, from which this is chiefly abridged. Typical scenes are illustrated in Plates xxix-xxx.

BASE OF TRAJAN'S COLUMN, ROME

Pontes, the emperor receives an embassy of barbarian peoples. In the next stage of the campaign the army marches forward to a Dacian citadel, probably Sarmizegetusa, where they are again victorious in battle. This city is next besieged, with the result that the Dacian chiefs are driven to take poison, an episode depicted with great power and freshness, and it is finally occupied by the Romans. The rest of the frieze consists of isolated episodes, including the surrender of Decebalus' treasure and the death of the chieftain by his own hand. It will be noted that the Romans are always represented as victorious.

To discuss in detail all these scenes or even their artistic features is impossible within the limits of the present work; but we have endeavoured to note all the more interesting or effective episodes, and where the high level of artistic excellence is so uniformly preserved, it would be invidious to particularize. Enough has also been said to show how the 'continuous' method (except in the final section) has been adapted in the gradual transition from one scene or action to another, just as in a rapid succession of dissolving views, sustaining our interest without any cessation, while the emperor, his soldiers and their foes, carry on the action through its successive stages, as in slides thrown on a screen. We shall meet with a similar employment of the method again in the column of Marcus Aurelius, and even to some extent in the Arch of Septimius Severus; while at a yet later date it is destined to receive new life at the hands of Christian art, enduring throughout the Middle Ages.

In Trajan's arch at Beneventum, on the other hand, the decoration rather recalls that of the Arch of Titus. It combines, according to Wickhoff, the 'isolated' and the 'continuous' styles, each scene being independent and complete, but they are linked together by the repetition of the Imperial personage. On the side of the arch facing Rome is depicted the home policy of Trajan; on the country side, his provincial policy, with representations of typical countries. Similarly in the archway are reliefs commemorating the emperor's charity to the poor of the neighbourhood and his setting out for Parthia.

Wickhoff's criticism on these reliefs is as follows: 'The artist wished to make the spectator feel as if he were standing opposite one of those crowds that collect at public festivals. . . . Illusion is called upon to represent the notion of *crowding*, the strongest

possible contrast to the balanced group which . . . Hellenic genius could only render by a linear scheme of the utmost grace and finish. Here we are confronted with an art distinct from the Greek, not so much in the scope of its subjects as in the innermost essence of its being. How fine the skill and simple the means with which an impression of crowding is produced in this narrow frame.'[1] It has also been pointed out that every figure has an allegorical or political meaning, and this would serve as a greater attraction to the spectator, who would endeavour to interpret them and their share in the proceedings for his own edification.

The succeeding reign of Hadrian introduces us to a new phase in the development of Roman art, or rather to a reaction in the direction of eclecticism and the reversion to older ideas. Like the age of Augustus, it is a period of 'classicism,' when the principal aim is the reproduction of the Greek style and of famous models, fostered, as noted above (p. 64), by the emperor's own sympathies. To this period belong many of the copies and imitations of Greek statues which we have discussed in the preceding chapter. But it was not solely a period of reactionary or even stationary art, and the representations of Antinous will always stand out as a great and original achievement.

The cult of the beautiful youth Antinous, the emperor's favourite, was the most remarkable artistic feature of Hadrian's reign. He accompanied the emperor in his travels, but was drowned when in Egypt, which, according to the current story, was an act of self-devotion to Fate on behalf of his patron. Hadrian, to show his regret and gratitude, erected temples to Antinous both in Greece and Egypt, and set up his statues and busts in all parts of the empire. This cult of the deified youth gave quite an impulse to the art of sculpture, the artists being confronted by the problem, says a German writer, 'not only of fixing the forms of a portrait into a type, but also of transfiguring them into what was really an ideal presentment.' Yet these idealized portraits show traces of marked individualism in their combination of Greek beauty with Oriental voluptuousness. The creation of this type was, to quote another writer, 'the triumph of originality over eclecticism, the supreme and most characteristic

[1] *Roman Art*, p. 105.

SCENES FROM TRAJAN'S COLUMN: THE SIEGE OF A CITY AND THE EMBARCATION AT ANCONA

achievement of the period.'[1] The somewhat voluptuous form and melancholy sensuous expression influenced all contemporary sculpture, and were found to suit other conceptions, such as that of Bacchus, in whose form we often see him represented, as in a bust in the British Museum. The best presentment of Antinous is generally considered to be a relief in the Villa Albani; but there is also a beautiful head in the Louvre (Plate XXXI.), of which Professor Furtwaengler says: 'The unknown artist who made the head of the Antinous Mondragone for Hadrian seems to have attempted to bring some of the charm and beauty of the Lemnia into the face of the emperor's favourite.'

A well-known art-critic has given his impression of the Antinous type in the following words: 'The whole body combines Greek beauty of structure with something of Oriental voluptuousness. The same fusion of diverse elements may be traced in the head. It is not too large, though more than usually broad, and is nobly set upon a massive throat, slightly inclined forwards, as though this posture were habitual; the hair lies thick in clusters, which only form curls at the tips. The forehead is low and somewhat square; the eyebrows are level, of a peculiar shape, and very thick, converging so closely as almost to meet above the deep-cut eyes. The nose is straight, but blunter than is consistent with the Greek ideal. Both cheeks and chin are delicately formed, but fuller than a severe taste approves; one might trace in their rounded contours either a survival of infantine innocence and immaturity, or else the sign of rapidly approaching over-bloom. The mouth is one of the loveliest ever carved; but here again the blending of the Greek and Oriental types is visible. The lips, half-parted, seem to pout, and the distance between mouth and nostrils is exceptionally short. The undefinable expression of the lips, together with the weight of the brows and slumbrous half-closed eyes, gives a look of sulkiness or voluptuousness to the whole face. This, I fancy, is the first impression which the portraits of Antinous produce; and Shelley has well conveyed it by placing the two following phrases, "eager and impassioned tenderness" and "effeminate sullenness," in close juxtaposition. But after longer familiarity with the whole range of Antinous' portraits, and after study of his life, we are brought to read the peculiar expression of his face and form somewhat

[1] Mrs. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, p. 249.

differently. A prevailing melancholy, sweetness of temperament overshadowed by resignation, a brooding reverie, the innocence of youth touched and saddened by a calm resolve or an accepted doom—such are the sentences we form to give distinctness to a still vague and uncertain impression.'[1]

Another typical phase of Roman sculpture which rises into popularity in Hadrian's reign is formed by the sarcophagi with reliefs which crowd most of our museums, and which, though in vogue for some two centuries, may be conveniently treated here as a whole. It is a type of monument which undoubtedly owes its popularity at Rome to the influence of Etruria. The practice of adorning the receptacle of the deceased's remains with sculpture was indeed foreign to Greek art, though common in Egypt as well as in Etruria; tl sarcophagi of Sidon are almost the only exception, and these are clearly an imitation of Oriental ideas, though their style is purely Greek. In Greece the sarcophagus first becomes common in Hellenistic times, and then only as a conventional monument or cenotaph; but in Etruria it is found in stone and terra-cotta at all periods (p. 9). The Roman sarcophagi were, like the Etruscan, actually intended to hold the remains of the deceased, and were placed in the tombs against the walls; hence we find them decorated on the front and sides only, the back being left plain.

They are always loaded with decoration, the subjects being usually mythological, and have for us a certain artistic value as representing conventional versions of original Greek conceptions. Some again have subjects appropriate to tombs, such as the story of Cupid and Psyche; but as a rule there is no apparent reason for the choice of subject, the artist only selecting at haphazard from his stock-in-trade. Single figures and motives are borrowed from Hellenic models, but novelty may be observed in the compositions and in the often effective contrasts of light and shade. They illustrate the now firmly-established 'continuous' style[2] as well as most classes of monuments, and it is this, according to Wickhoff, which enabled the sculptors to infuse vitality into worn-out themes,

[1] J. A. Symonds, *Sketches and Studies in Italy and Greece*, iii. p. 185.

[2] As an instance of the difference between the Roman and Greek treatment of the sarcophagi, it may be observed that in the latter (as for instance in the Sidon sarcophagi) the groups can be isolated from one another, but not in the Roman.

BUST OF ANTINOUS
(LOUVRE)

and combine a pedantic following of literary sources with original conceptions. The execution varies from a fairly high level to exceedingly rude and careless productions; but they are generally useful for study as preserving much which we should otherwise have lost, and in many cases they formed the models for the work of the sculptors of the Renaissance. Though often admirable as decorative work, they are not masterpieces, and their real merit lies in the mythological or symbolical interest of the representations.

A typical scheme of decoration first introduced in the Antonine period and exemplified in many of the sarcophagi is that which has an arrangement of columns along the front, between which single figures or groups are placed. It is not a new style of composition, and in fact can be traced back to Greek art, appearing in the fourth-century sarcophagi of 'Les Pleureuses' from Sidon. It is also seen in the terra-cotta panels of the Augustan period (Chap. VII.), and in Pompeian wall-decoration of the same date. At a later period we shall note a further interesting development of this style, associated with Asia Minor (p. 86). The older method of garland decoration which we have seen (p. 56) to be characteristic of the first-century 'altar-tombs' died out with their transformation into the second-century sarcophagus; and mythological scenes now appear for the first time. Of these a few of the finer examples may be noted.

In the Villa Albani at Rome is a sarcophagus with the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis, the subjects being treated in the severely classic and somewhat conventional style of the 'new-Attic' school (p. 48), and thus affording a good example of the revival of classicism under Hadrian. Though recalling in their manner the eclecticism of the Augustan age, which indeed, as we shall see, produced some close parallels, the compositions are pleasing and carefully executed. On the front of the sarcophagus we have on the right the bridal pair seated side by side and receiving wedding gifts from a procession of deities. That it is no ordinary wedding-scene is clear from the presence at the head of the procession of Vulcan and Minerva, who bring to Peleus the armour which the former has executed. They are followed by the Four Seasons, each with appropriate offerings: Winter with game, Autumn with fruit, Summer with flowers, and Spring with olives. Next come Vesper, and Hymen with his torch, and on the left a Cupid is thrusting away Juno Pronuba (conductor of brides), whose functions are now

at an end. The prominence given to Winter, and the thick clothing worn by Hymen, seem to refer to the fact that this was the season for marriages at Rome.[1] These figures are largely derived from earlier types, and the seasons have really nothing to do with the subject; they are, in fact, exact reproductions of figures with which we meet on terra-cotta panels and on pottery of the time of Augustus (Chap. VII.). But the date of the sarcophagus is not earlier than 140-150 A.D. Though the figures are close imitations of Greek models, the technical treatment is that of the Antonine period.

In the Lateran are two good typical examples of this Antonine epoch, with scenes from heroic legend, one with the story of Orestes, the other with that of the Niobids. The story of Achilles is dealt with in a contemporary sarcophagus in the British Museum, and in two others of the third century in Rome, one depicting his sojourn with the daughters of Lycomedes in Skyros (Plate XXXII.), the other his triumph over the Amazon queen Penthesileia. The more idyllic type, of which the Villa Albani example yields some suggestions, is well represented by yet another in the Lateran, belonging to the Antonine period, on the cover of which boys play antics with animals, after the manner of Pompeian *Amoretti*.

Another sarcophagus of the same type is singled out by Wickhoff as an illustration of the valuable artistic effects of the 'continuous' style, endowing pedantic accuracy with a wealth of fancy which imparted renewed artistic vitality to worn-out themes.[2] In the third-century examples we may observe a greater tendency to realism, and an ingenious treatment of space, which, as Riegl says, 'takes the place of matter.'[3] But the figures tend to become sadly crowded; there is an absence of perspective, and a general effect of restlessness is produced. The lack of genuine interest in the treatment shows that sculpture is nearing the period of exhaustion. A point that may also be noted, says Mrs. Strong,[4] is the increasing popularity of figure-subjects, to the exclusion of ornament, which played so important a part in the earlier sarcophagi, whereas in the East it was still destined to oust all other forms of decoration.

[1] The Greeks called January Gamelion ('the marrying month').

[2] *Roman Art*, p. 165. Compare the remarks by Mrs. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, p. 259 ff.

[3] *Spätröm. Kunst-industrie*, p. 74.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 326.

SARCOPHAGUS OF THE SECOND CENTURY: ACHILLES IN SKYROS

(CAPITOL, ROME)

The art of the Antonine period carries on the traditions of the previous reign, in combining the 'continuous' method with classical eclecticism. But it is on the whole represented by few monuments beyond the sarcophagi. Nevertheless, it has been held to rank with the reigns of Augustus, Domitian, and Trajan for its artistic work, and is described by Professor Dill as 'an age of splendid public spirit and great material achievement.' Its masterpiece is of course the column of Marcus Aurelius, ranking next to that of Trajan as an example of the 'continuous' style. It is clearly an imitation of Trajan's; but though larger, it is by no means so impressive. Moreover, the compositions are arranged on a different principle; there is less of climax or continuity, and isolated episodes are frequently introduced. Nor is there the same striving after historical correctness. It depicts the wars of the Romans with the German tribes of the Marcomanni and Quadi in 171-173 and with the Sarmatians in 173-175.[1] As on the column of Trajan, we see realistic representations of forts, bridges of boats, and the emperor sacrificing and making speeches; and a unique episode is that of the 'rain-miracle,' the destruction of villages and overwhelming of the Germans by floods, under the influence of Jupiter Pluvius, who is represented shaking his winged arms and pouring down rain upon the Romans, to whom it is only a welcome change from drought (see Plate XXXIII.).

The famous bronze equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitol, which is remarkable for having survived all vicissitudes of time and turmoil, always remaining above ground, is an effective piece of work, though not without its faults. It has been described as 'magnificently decorative but dull and mediocre.'[2] The emperor is represented with life-like effect, though in a stiff position such as might be expected from a philosopher on horseback, his outstretched arm yielding to the supplication of a barbarian who was depicted prone at his feet. The horse has been thought to be a study from life, but is not well executed; the general conception, however, is simple and dignified, and aroused the admiration of Michelangelo, who is supposed to have designed the pedestal.

The history of Roman sculpture during the one hundred and

[1] The scenes are fully described by Mrs. Strong, *op. cit.*, p. 276, Pls. 83-89.
[2] Mrs. Strong, *op. cit.*, p. 372.

fifty years from Marcus Aurelius to the end of the reign of Constantine the Great and the deposition of Paganism, must with a few exceptions be briefly dismissed. On the whole it is but a record of steady degeneration, but the darkness is relieved by a few bright spots, such as the arches of Septimius Severus and Constantine, or the realistic portraits of Caracalla and other emperors. But even in the portraits, when we come to the time of Constantine, there is, as already pointed out (p. 66), an entire departure from Roman principles and methods.

The third century also witnessed the rapid growth of a tendency which had for a long time been at work in Roman religion, that of syncretism, or the assimilation of foreign, and in particular Oriental, beliefs and practices. Hence, in art too, the representation of new deities becomes increasingly frequent. This new development was in the first instance the result of Alexandrine influence, which became so strong in southern Italy towards the end of the Hellenistic period, creating a passion for the cult of Egyptian deities. It was fostered by the somewhat cynical toleration which, with the widening of the empire, was extended to the many new cults with which the conquerors came in contact, and which appealed to them in various ways. In the third century the influence came from another quarter, and the mystic and orgiastic cults of central Asia Minor assert their sway. This change in the Roman religious outlook not only affected art, but in some measure paved the way for the introduction of Christianity.

The influence of Egyptian religion had displayed itself mainly in the direction of promoting the cult of Sarapis and Isis, the principal pair of later Egyptian deities.[1] Temples were built to them in Pompeii among other places, as readers of Lord Lytton's *Last Days of Pompeii* will remember. They corresponded roughly to the Greek Zeus and Hera, and in art Sarapis was represented much like the former, except for the cylindrical head-dress or *calathus* which he wears. In Greek art this was the symbol of a Chthonian or Nether World deity. Isis, on the other hand, does not appear in classical guise, but retains her Egyptian head-dress of the solar disc and cow's horns, and her robe is knotted in front in a peculiar fashion. With her is often associated her son Horus or Harpocrates,

[1] There is an interesting painting from Herculaneum representing the worship of Isis (Waldstein, *Herculaneum*, Pl. 38; Naples Museum, No. 1346).

THE RAIN-MIRACLE, FROM THE COLUMN OF M. AURELIUS, ROME

distinguished by his peculiar lock of hair, in Egyptian fashion, and by the forefinger placed on his mouth.

The cult which above all others attained popularity in the third century was that of Mithras. Most collections of ancient sculpture contain examples of the well-known group of this deity slaying a bull (Plate XXXIV.); but though the figure of the young warrior in his Phrygian cap and floating mantle, plunging his sword with determination into the bull's throat is more or less familiar, few may have paused to inquire who he is, and why he was such a popular figure in Roman art. The extent of the cult of Mithras under the Roman Empire is indeed difficult to realize; yet this mysterious religion, taking its rise in the sun-worship of Persia, spread even to the forests of Germany and the remote shores of Britain, where altars have been found dedicated 'to the most high god, the invincible Mithras' (cf. p. 172). A form of sun-worship and therefore an offshoot of Zoroastrianism, it proved a formidable rival to Christianity, and even exerted much influence on Christian rites and festivals. It is supposed that the group of the bull-slayer is an allegory of the sun's annual course. The figure of Mithras represents the sun in its full power, and the bull, with its horns forming a crescent, typifies the earth and the moon. The dagger is interpreted as the rays of the sun, opening the veins of the earth and ensuring its fertility. This cult was first introduced into Rome before the end of the Republican period, and gradually increased its influence and popularity up to the third century. It cannot be said that the monuments relating to it have any special artistic merit, and their interest is mainly mythological.[1]

We turn now to examine the most favourable and most typical specimens of art which this period could produce. The Arch of Septimius Severus (see p. 40), erected in A.D. 203 in commemoration of victories in Mesopotamia, has richly-decorated façades, but is in a bad state of preservation. The sculptures hardly as yet exhibit signs of decadence, and illustrate the development of the 'continuous' method much in the same manner as the sarcophagi. In these latter monuments, which are found in great profusion during the third century, there is a marked increase of realism, even portraits being introduced. But they exemplify, almost more than

[1] On the subject of Mithras-worship in general, see an admirable summary in Dill's *Roman Society from Nero to M. Aurelius*, Book iv. Chap. 6.

any other monuments, the decay of power and imagination; the elegant ornamentation of the earlier period (p. 56) has entirely disappeared, and the figures of each composition are hopelessly crowded and ineffective. The sculptor has lost all real interest in his work and turns it out 'to order.' (Cf. Plate xxxv.)

There is, however, one class of exceptions to this degeneration. We find in Asia Minor a group of sarcophagi of really remarkable merit and originality, presenting such marked differences from the Roman examples that they obviously belong to another and a local school, trained under other influences. Of these the most important, known as the Sidamara sarcophagus, was found at Ambar-Arassi near Konieh (Iconium) in 1898.[1] It measures 12 feet in length by 6 in height and depth, the body and cover being each of a single block of marble. Each face of the sarcophagus is conceived as representing a colonnade decorated with statues between and in front of the columns, the intercolumniations being in the form of niches. It will be observed that we have here a development of the columned type already noted as appearing in the Antonine period; but as will be seen later, the view has been strongly upheld that the development was a purely local one from the Greek type represented in the sarcophagi of Sidon, entirely apart from local influence.

The cover is modelled in the form of a couch for the deceased, while the figures on the body fall into two groups, the left side being connected with the front, the right side with the back. The entablatures and backgrounds are richly ornamented, the tops of the niches being carved in the form of scallop-shells, the columns Corinthian of a degenerate type, and the entablatures curved or triangular, every inch of the surface being covered with acanthus patterns, worked not with the chisel but with the drill; the effect, however, is dry and monotonous. The figure-decoration is vastly superior (see Plate xxxvi.). In the first group (the front and left side) the subjects are taken from family life, and we see on the front the deceased person seated with a scroll in hand from which he is reading, a woman standing before him.[2] Behind the man is a girl dressed like

[1] See *Monuments Piot*, ix. p. 189 ff., Pls. 17-19.

[2] The type is derived from the group of a poet and Muse, an example of which occurs on a similar sarcophagus in the British Museum. But the original meaning is lost, and the scroll plays much the same part as the book held by the subject of a mid-Victorian photograph.

MITHRAS SLAYING A BULL

(BRITISH MUSEUM)

Diana, and at each end is a youth holding a horse. These figures have not been satisfactorily explained, but may be local deities assimilated to Diana or Helen and the latter's brothers Castor and Pollux. On the left side the subject is an offering at a tomb by a male and a female mourner. The second group consists of hunting-scenes, both sides forming one composition, of mounted horsemen pursuing a deer and a lion.

From an artistic point of view the figures are of astonishing merit, for the period to which they belong. Taken by itself more than one of the individual figures might be pronounced at first sight good Greek work, recalling the style of Praxiteles. On the other hand the student of mediaeval Italian art would be irresistibly reminded of Donatello. But this is not true of every figure; they are of varying merit. As regards the general effect, the artist's chief aim seems to have been to produce a sort of illusion of depth of background, with great contrasts of light and shade, and this extends also to the ornament, which is worked only with the drill. But he is often essentially unintelligent, as for instance in combining a hunting-scene with an architectural façade; as a French writer says, 'We do not hunt in the Rue de Rivoli!' There is in fact an unmistakable suggestion of the stage; and this leads us to what is perhaps the true source of this scheme of decoration, to which conclusion we are aided by a study of Pompeian wall-decoration of the fourth period (see p. 99). In these paintings the figures are often arranged in doorways between columns, from which the appearance of the ancient stage can be reconstructed.

The Sidamara sarcophagus is not then an original conception. Nor yet is it an isolated work. Professor Strzygowski has collected some twelve examples of similar type; but though he is a zealous champion of the claims of Asia Minor to the whole group, it must be remembered that some have been found in Italy, and one in particular, which is now at Florence, and is decorated with wedding scenes, seems to be of Italian manufacture, representing the transition from the Roman to the Asiatic type, and belonging to the Antonine period.[1] Of the Sidamara type the two best examples are one from Selefkeh at Constantinople, and some fragments in the

[1] The fact that the drill is not used for the foliage seems to imply an early date, and therefore a non-Asiatic origin. The style of the British Museum fragment above mentioned is similar.

Cook Collection at Richmond, Surrey. There is also one at Berlin with the figure of Christ, which is instructive not only as evidence of the date of the group, which may be assigned to the period 200-350, but as showing how Christian art had entered into the heritage of the expiring Pagan art. It is the only example of a Christian sarcophagus of the niched type; but the influence of this development of art extends down to the Middle Ages, and is seen for instance in Maximian's throne at Ravenna.

Professor Strzygowski maintains that the spirit of these monuments is purely Greek, recalling the plastic art of the fourth century and free from the 'illusionism' of the 'Hellenistic' reliefs. The artists of Asia Minor, he says, were actively engaged in copying Greek types, and he compares the drapery of a figure on the Richmond sarcophagus with that of Praxitelean figures; the Christ at Berlin with the Lateran Sophocles and the Eubuleus-head at Athens. The influence of the Sidon sarcophagus of 'Les Pleureuses' is also unmistakable; and to a great extent most critics will agree with him. On the other hand M. Théodore Reinach considers that there is a strong infusion of Italian elements, both in style and decoration. The treatment of the cover as a couch with recumbent figures on it is, as he points out, undeniably an Etruscan feature (cf. p. 9). Certainly Professor Strzygowski seems to have overlooked the significance of some of his own admissions, as where he derives the style of decoration from Pompeian wall-paintings and the Roman stage. He is on safer ground when pointing out its subsequent influence on Christian art, *e.g.* in the Ravenna throne and an ivory diptych in the British Museum. M. Reinach thinks that the 'international' features of this Asiatic art are largely the result of the rise of Christianity, which is essentially cosmopolitan. He also shows that they are a reaction against the disappearance of the architectural element in the sarcophagi, which the Romans had converted into mere backgrounds for reliefs.

The great monument of the reign of Constantine the Great is his triumphal arch near the Forum, erected in 312 after his victory over Maxentius. It has been much praised both in recent and in earlier times, having inspired the artists of the Renaissance, and having been only recently described as showing an 'unsurpassable harmony of proportion.' Its decoration, as has already been noted (p. 47), is only partly original, much of the sculpture being taken

SARCOPHAGUS WITH BATTLE-SCENE, OF THE PERIOD OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT

(ROME, MUSEO DELLE TERME)

THE SIDAMARA SARCOPHAGUS

(CONSTANTINOPLE MUSEUM)

from earlier monuments. But two medallions with Sol and Luna and four narrow friezes are contemporary work, and good of their kind. It has been pointed out that they exhibit a reversion to the prominence given to individual form, characteristic of archaic art, and the subjects are chosen with that end in view. The great critic Riegl regarded the friezes as 'the highest expression of the optic theories which governed later Roman sculpture,'[1] while at the same time the isolating of the figures was a reaction in the archaic direction. 'The Arch of Constantine,' he says, 'spiritually as well as aesthetically, stands where the antique passes into the mediaeval world.' In the composition of the figures he shows how the prominence given to the chief imperial personage prepared for the central figure of the new religion. Art was in fact ready to receive new ideas, and the Christian religion, so far from destroying it, moribund as it was, actually gave it new life. It had already, as we have seen, been undermined by other influences from the East, and now that this quarter alone kept alive the flame of artistic production, still vigorous in the Asiatic sarcophagi, Rome fell an easier prey to the Orient. Yet even as, centuries earlier, Rome herself had been captivated by conquered Hellas (see p. 1), so now Christianity was indebted to captive Paganism for her earliest art-motives. The traces of this are visible throughout the course of early Christian and mediaeval art, and especially in the East, where Orientalism continued to hold sway. For Oriental art, as has been already noted, is essentially typical, and hence conventional types have always prevailed in its offspring, the art which we know as Byzantine. The history of art in the early Middle Ages is the history of a long struggle between two principles, Italian and Byzantine, until with the Renaissance the former finally reasserted itself in the West, while the latter is still at the present day adhered to by the unchanging East.

[1] *Spätrömische Kunst-industrie*, p. 47.

CHAPTER V

ROMAN PAINTING AND MOSAIC

Methods employed—Encaustic—Portraits from Egypt—Landscapes and other paintings in Rome—Pompeian styles of painting—Subjects of pictures—Mythological pictures and their origin—*Genre* paintings—Wickhoff's estimate of Roman painting—Roman mosaics—Provincial examples.

I. ROMAN PAINTING

IN treating of Roman painting we are in one respect at least in a far more satisfactory position than in dealing with Greek. If we are not concerned with a great art and a long list of great painters, we have at least a considerable series of existing examples to cite and discuss in illustration of its development, and we can form a reasonable and trustworthy estimate of its artistic achievements. The enthusiast for Greek art would probably be ready to exchange all the Roman paintings in existence for a score of masterpieces by Zeuxis or Apelles; but we must not forget that Roman paintings have much to teach us in regard to their Greek prototypes, and the same applies to mosaics, which though not strictly speaking paintings, must be considered under the same heading, and, as we shall see, equally reflect the features of classic pictorial art.

Roman paintings—ignoring mosaics for the present—may be classified under two main heads: wall-paintings or frescoes, and easel-paintings or pictures. The processes employed we may assume to have been much the same as were employed by the Greeks and Etruscans, that is to say, fresco, *tempera*, and encaustic. The latter process indeed, was of somewhat limited use, although we hear much about it from ancient writers, but there is good reason for supposing that it was only used for small pictures, corresponding to our miniatures, and that it was largely confined to the later Greek and Roman periods. It is further supposed to have been little practised except in Egypt.

The process employed for the wall-paintings of Pompeii, and in fact for the great majority of those that have come down to us, was fresco, or painting in water-colour on the moist stucco of a freshly-plastered surface. The wall was prepared by coating it first with layers of sand mortar and then of marble stucco, the total thickness of the plastering being two or three inches. Plaster of such thickness remained moist for some time, so that it was possible to execute a considerable amount of painting at a time, though not to complete a whole wall as one piece. Paintings are sometimes found on wooden panels let into the wall, as in the house of Lucretius at Pompeii; but these are comparatively rare, and usually of inferior merit.

The method known as encaustic painting has been the subject of much discussion, and the accounts given by ancient writers are not always clear;[1] but the main principle must have been the use of hot wax as a vehicle. Pliny also implies that it was used for painting on ivory with a sharp-pointed instrument called a *cestrum*, but it is conceivable that this was only the method employed for outlining the design previous to the laying on of the colour. There is, however, good reason for supposing that the *cestrum* was actually the instrument which was employed for laying on the mixture of pigment and hot wax, and if so, we must imagine that it was shaped like a surgical spatula and used much in the same fashion.

Recently it has been supposed that we may find an illustration of the encaustic process in the remarkable series of portraits painted on wood which were discovered some years ago in the Fayûm district of Egypt. Professor Flinders Petrie, after a careful examination of those found by him at Hawara, came to the conclusion that the colours were ground in with the wax in the form of powder, and were then fused by being exposed to heat. The wooden panel was prepared by a priming of distemper and a background of some neutral tint, after which the pigment was applied in a more or less creamy state with a brush.

These pictures are evidently of Graeco-Egyptian origin, that region having been inhabited by Greeks and by natives who adopted Greek culture; it has also yielded many examples of a strangely mixed art of Graeco-Egyptian character, belonging to

[1] See generally Laurie, *Greek and Roman Painting* (Cambridge, 1910), for the most recent study of the subject.

the time of the Ptolemies and the Roman Empire. The portraits are painted on thin panels of wood, and were fixed in the mummy-cases in order to preserve the likeness of the deceased person, the face as it were appearing through the opening. Most of them are life-size heads of a very realistic and lifelike type, some being wonderfully suggestive of modern types of humanity. Some of the masculine faces are like those by old Italian and Spanish masters; some of the younger women, again, like studies by Greuze. That they were only made for funeral purposes is clear from the way in which they fit the mummy-cases. We also observe a certain conventionality in the eyes, which are abnormally large. It has been noted that many of the ladies' eyes show signs of 'making up,' a practice to which, as we know, the Egyptians were much addicted.

In technical merit they vary, some being painted in encaustic, others in distemper on a prepared panel covered with coarse canvas; or the two processes are combined. The physiognomies are Greek rather than Egyptian, as are the details of hair and jewellery, and the persons represented are mostly Hellenized Egyptians or actually of Greek origin. They cover a wide period of time, from the reign of Claudius down to the middle of the third century after Christ, and in the earlier examples a distinct relationship to the Pompeian paintings can be traced. This is in no way surprising, as Alexandrian influence is known to have been very strong at Pompeii, especially in the sphere of painting. Some authorities have actually assigned them to an earlier date, viz. the Ptolemaic period, but the evidence seems hardly sufficient, and though, like the Pompeian paintings, they are Hellenistic in the sense that they are the outcome of Hellenistic art in Egypt, details such as the coiffures and jewellery worn by the women afford many points of contact with the fashions of the imperial period.

There is a fine series of these portraits in our National Gallery, and a good example in the British Museum of a mummy complete with the portrait inserted (Plate XXXVII.). It represents a boy, whose face, vividly and naturally reproduced, emerges from the canvas folds in which the rest of the body is swathed. This figure formed part of a family group, the tomb in which it was found containing the portrait of the mother similarly painted on canvas, and the mummies of two girls with gilt busts, modelled, not painted. The mask, modelled and gilded, or painted, was another method of

MUMMY-PORTRAITS FROM THE FAYÛM, EGYPT

(BRITISH MUSEUM AND NATIONAL GALLERY)

decoration adopted for the mummies, and the painted portraits were formerly supposed to have been evolved from it, but evidence, as in the case of this particular tomb, points to the two fashions being contemporary.

Of the female portraits Dr. Ebers says: 'They have all the best qualities which charm us in the finest of these portraits; the features are exquisitely modelled, they are accurately and elegantly drawn, and the colouring may be called harmonious, though at first, it is true, the encaustic wax medium has perhaps rather a startling effect. But that which gives these pictures their chief value is the convincing power which reveals the individual character of every one represented. The utmost care is bestowed on the countenance, hardly any on the costume. These speaking and marvellously life-like images are full of captivating charm; they move us now to real delight, now to sympathetic liking; one reminds us of a face, a type such as we meet with in daily life; another raises the irresistible smile with which we see a vulgar sitter depicted with intelligence and skill.'

For our knowledge of Roman paintings we are of course most largely indebted to the excavations at Pompeii, though many of the best examples have been found in Rome itself. But the exceptional circumstances of the Pompeian finds, the discoveries actually *in situ*, and the certainty of dating within narrow limits, make these our best source of information, both for wall-paintings and pictures. An uninterrupted development can be observed from the second century B.C. down to the destruction of the city in A.D. 79; and though the great majority of the paintings belong to the last thirty years of its existence, some of the best go back to the time of Augustus; and in the various phases of the wall-decorations we can trace this development from the Graeco-Egyptian art of the third and second centuries which first originated in Alexandria. It was the example of that city which introduced into Italy the fondness for interior mural decoration as a form of artistic luxury, especially where marble panelling was not available.

If in Pompeii we find the influence of Alexandria and Hellenized Egypt most powerful, in Rome we see the meeting-point of Greek and Etruscan influence. The latter, however, was soon ousted, if indeed it ever took root in Rome, and as early as

the third century B.C. we hear of Greek artists at work there. But nothing now existing dates back farther than the end of the Republican period, and practically all the existing paintings in Rome are included within the period B.C. 50—A.D. 50. They all show Greek influence, and are either the work of Greek craftsmen or direct copies of Greek paintings. These have been excavated at different times since the beginning of the sixteenth century, in tombs, palaces, villas, and baths, and all come under the heading of mural decoration. The extent of the Hellenistic influence in Rome, as also in Campania, makes it difficult to obtain a satisfactory estimate of Roman paintings, apart from the fact that the total number now in existence is so small; but some of the landscapes, such as those of Prima Porta (see below), or the decoration of the House of Livia, with the views of streets in the city, must be regarded as truly Roman in spirit.

The majority of the paintings found in Rome take the form of landscapes, a branch of the art which the Greeks were very slow to develop, and which held with them much the same position that it held with the old Italian masters. We do not hear of landscape-paintings in Greek art before the third century B.C., and then—as indeed at all times—landscapes were never more than backgrounds to the real subject of the picture. As in Sir Joshua Reynolds' portraits, they supplied 'local colouring,' and that was all. But we shall see that landscape now forms an integral part of the picture, and is indicated in full detail. Roman landscape shows by its truthfulness the Roman appreciation of nature, which seems to have been far stronger than the Greek, as indeed we might gather from Virgil and Horace, with their evident love of the countryside.

Pliny and Vitruvius mention painters of the Augustan age, notably one Ludius or Studius, who introduced a new style of painting in which villas, gardens, or harbours were introduced; but they seem to imply that the real interest of the picture was in the human figures depicted in the foregrounds: men carrying timid women over streams, fishermen, and so on. This style of picture is well illustrated at Pompeii, where recently some interesting paintings of the kind were found in the house of M. Lucretius Fronto. They are described as 'of illusionist style,' and reproduce with much interesting detail the Roman villa of the period, with

GARDEN-SCENE FRÓM THE VILLA OF LIVIA

PRIMA PORTA, ROME

its buildings grouped round a garden or a fountain, much as in the style afterwards adopted in Britain (p. 170).

Another excellent example of the style of Ludius, which possibly may be actually from his hand, is a painting found in the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta outside Rome, representing a fruit-garden (Plate XXXVIII.). In front is a terrace with a parapet along the face; at the back is an ornamental railing with open work, behind which is a plantation of fruit-trees and flowering shrubs in rich profusion. The detail is admirable, and the colouring effective; but it is what we should call decorative rather than creative art.

Perhaps the finest examples of landscape-painting which have come down to us are those known as the 'Odyssey landscapes,' found in a house on the Esquiline Hill, and now in the Vatican Library.[1] Six remain complete, with parts of two others, the subjects being taken from the wanderings of Ulysses described in the tenth and eleventh books of the *Odyssey*: his adventures with Circe and the Laestrygones, and his descent into Hades. They decorated the lower part of a room, and were set between red pilasters which contrasted very effectively with the yellows, blues, greens, and browns of the pictures. The illusion is also produced thereby of an open *loggia* from which the scenes are visible. The unity of the whole is remarkable, and the setting of each picture, though conventional and in a way merely decorative, yields some surprisingly natural effects. Vitruvius contrasts the sober style of these earlier paintings (they date from about the beginning of the Christian era) with the somewhat fantastic and over-elaborated character of later developments. The colours of these earlier paintings are in truth at times dull and cold, and differences of light and shade are not strongly marked, whereas in the time of Nero the tones become much more brilliant and effective. The predominance given to the landscape itself is shown by the small proportionate size of the figures, which serve merely to complete the subject suggested by the scenery. On the other hand they 'are not exact reproductions of definite views and localities, but general

[1] Wickhoff (p. 154) denies that these paintings are earlier than the reign of Trajan, on account of their 'impressionism'; but he is clearly wrong here. This impressionism is found in painting at an earlier date. See H. S. Jones in *Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1906, p. 120, and below, p. 104.

impressions from memory enlivened with suitable figures.' These paintings are probably reproductions of Alexandrine work.

Among smaller landscapes forming backgrounds to mythological themes there are two paintings of the fate of Icarus, which are worthy of comparison with those on a larger scale. One of these is in the British Museum and represents Daedalus flying and Icarus falling headlong from the sky. In the foreground is a rocky shore on which is seen Pan accompanied by goats; in the distance, a fortified city representing the abode of Minos in Crete. Another remarkable painting in that Museum (Plate XXXIX.) represents Ulysses passing the Sirens; the colouring is somewhat lurid, and the whole scene is as grim as one of Doré's illustrations, with the dull blue water, the dimly-depicted ships, and the rocks with patches of white and red, on which the bones of previous victims lie whitening.

Passing from the landscapes—the taste for which seems to have died out early, about the middle of the first century—we turn to consider two or three purely figure subjects, which are perhaps the best examples of Roman painting of the Augustan age outside Pompeii. Two of the finest are in the House of Livia, the daughter of Augustus, on the Palatine, and may therefore be dated in the early years of the Christian era; they represent respectively the Cyclops Polyphemus courting the Nymph Galatea, and Hermes delivering Io from Argus. To quote the description of M. Boissier,[1] a well-known writer on Roman subjects: 'Polyphemus pursues Galatea, half immersed in water, and to show that he is under the influence of love, the painter has represented on his shoulder a small Cupid who holds him in leash with two ribbons. Galatea flees on the back of a sea-horse, but turns back towards the Cyclops; her right arm rests on the crupper of her steed, while the left grasps hold of its neck and at the same time holds up her red mantle which has slipped off her. The red drapery and the black mane of the sea-horse throw into relief the white of the Nymph's flesh. In the background is a bay surrounded by high cliffs; the mountains are crowned with trees, and the water preserves its transparency.' 'I know no ancient landscape,' says another French scholar, 'where there is presented such a felicitous and broad interpretation of nature.'

The other fresco is still finer in execution, and represents the

[1] *Rome and Pompeii*, p. 107.

PAINTING OF ULYSSES AND THE SIRENS
(BRITISH MUSEUM)

moment of Hermes' approach. 'Nothing could be more elegant or graceful than the attitude of the desolate girl, whose eyes are turned to heaven, and who, in the disorder of her grief, can hardly hold up her mantle over her breast. Behind her Hermes approaches softly, hidden by a rock from the view of Io and her guardian, while the vigilant Argus never loses sight of his victim, and gathers himself together, ready to fly out upon the dreaded deliverer.' 'This picture,' says another critic, 'reveals an extraordinarily able and sure hand; the contours are most delicately shaded yet clearly defined; the scale of colours, with their relatively clear tones, produces a harmonious and restful appearance. It would be difficult to find at Pompeii any figure to equal that of the Io; the proportions are more slender and more delicate, the colours more soft and transparent than in any of the Campanian painters' works.' This fineness of conception and execution may, he thinks, be either due to a closer acquaintance with Greek originals, or to the influence of a more refined social environment.

Another famous painting in Rome is the so-called 'Aldobrandini Marriage' in the Vatican, discovered in 1600 on the Esquiline hill by the cardinal of that name, which represents a bride preparing for the nuptial procession (Plate XL.). 'Closely cloaked and veiled, and lost in shy meditation, the bride is seated on a couch; near her is Aphrodite, speaking kind encouragement; on the left Charis, the goddess of grace, leans and prepares a sweet-smelling essence with which the bride is to be sprinkled. Towards the right, on the threshold of the room, sits Hymen, the god of marriage, looking round impatiently; on the right the chords of the *cithara*, to which the wedding song will be sung, are already sounding as a maiden tunes them with her finger; another maiden is busied at a bowl of incense, and a third waits in gay attire to be her friend's 'bridesmaid.' On the left we see the interior of the house. The dignified figure with the fan is the bride's mother; she is dipping her fingers, as though testing something, into a bowl, into which a servant is pouring water' (Amelung, *Museums of Rome*, p. 135). The picture is described as one of the most beautiful and tasteful that has come down to us. The writer already quoted sees in it a reflection of fourth-century Greek characteristics in its delicate grace and disregard of realism, but if the original can be traced so far back, the painting itself can hardly be older than the first century before Christ.

At Pompeii, as is well known, the employment of mural painted decoration was almost universal. The outer walls of the houses and buildings were plainly stuccoed down to the time of Augustus, and then simply coloured, but from the very first a regular system of decoration was adopted for the interiors, the paintings being in fresco on a surface of plaster (also in the latest period in distemper). To this fact we owe their excellent preservation. The late Professor Mau, the greatest authority on all that relates to Pompeii, divided the styles of painting into four successive periods, an account of which will show how the art developed here. It has been noted that they correspond roughly with the successive methods of building construction employed (see p. 24), and the architect Vitruvius, in the passage to which allusion has already been made (p. 95), implies that he recognized a similar development.

(1) In the earliest or *tufa* period, in which the buildings are constructed of blocks of that material, the decoration was in what is known as the *Incrustation style*, in which the wall surface is divided into panels painted in plain ground colours, or with diaper patterns. Of this there are good examples in the house of Sallust. The name is derived from *crusta*, a slab of marble, the process being in imitation of the practice of inlaying walls with slabs of coloured marble by way of decoration, as was frequently done, for instance, in public baths. But it is actually borrowed from Alexandria, and represents the ordinary wall decoration of the Hellenistic age. Artistically, of course, it has no great merit except for the effective contrasts of colour, the normal scheme comprising panels of red and black, with a dado of yellow. This phase covers the period down to 80 B.C.

(2) The next or *Architectural style* begins about B.C. 80, and extends down to about B.C. 10, exhibiting a gradual development from simpler to more complex forms. At first it closely resembles the preceding style, with plain schemes of colour, and the first variations are in the treatment of the cornices. The dado is continued, but is sometimes painted in perspective, as if projecting; in the middle part of the wall are panels with pictures in them, flanked by columns and bordered above and below by ornament. From these, good effects of contrast are obtained between the brilliant and harmonious colouring of the pictures and the monochrome backgrounds. The usual arrangement is that of a wide central

THE ALDOBRANDINI MARRIAGE

(VATICAN LIBRARY, ROME)

panel between two narrow ones, and, generally speaking, the principle is that of an architectural design acting as a framework for the pictures, and producing a sort of illusory perspective (Plate XLI.).

(3) From about B.C. 10 to A.D. 50 the *Ornate style* is in vogue. There is now no more notion of architectural construction, but the architectural details are subordinated to the decoration and conventionally treated. The system thus becomes one of a series of panels with ornamental borders. This style is coincident with the general introduction of marble in buildings, and shows, according to Wickhoff, the beginning of illusionism, the painter's aim being to present a great palace with richly decorated walls on which are pictures in frames.

(4) Lastly, there is the *Intricate style*, from A.D. 50 down to the destruction of the city in 79, to which the majority of the paintings found at Pompeii belong. In these a sense of architectural form is always retained, but the imagination was given free scope in the direction of intricate and fantastic patterns. The result is the illusionism of the Flavian period, which is also seen in such works as the Arch of Titus. But, as it has been pointed out, these later paintings have not been generally admired, and the verdict of criticism is not wholly favourable to Wickhoff's enthusiastic conclusions. It should also be remembered that what he calls illusionism really appears at an earlier date, in the Odyssey landscapes and in the paintings of the style of Ludius (see above, p. 94). It is only true that these tendencies reached their height in the Flavian period.

'The decorators,' says Signor Carotti, 'gave free scope to the wildest caprices of their imagination, or to speak more exactly, they took from their repertory of Greek models all the lightest and most graceful subjects and motives to form a cheerful and pleasing decoration designed with symmetry and balance, and executed in brilliant and vivid colouring.' The single figures are 'harmonious and elegant in form and never without refinement.' The subjects are chosen by preference from the myths of Cupid and Bacchus, with their attendant followers, and Maenads, Centaurs, Cupid and Psyche, or dancing girls are among the favourite themes.

Having indicated the general principles of Pompeian wall decoration, we now turn to the consideration of the actual pictures. Of these there are said to be about 3500 in existence, nearly all belonging, as would naturally be the case, to the third and

fourth periods. We are struck by the fact that they show no evidence of progress or development either in technique or composition, but all stand on about the same level in style, owing largely to the eclectic and imitative tendencies of the artists. But in the earlier examples the picture usually fills the whole panel, whereas in the later they are confined to a small space in the centre, and in the fourth style single figures and simple compositions are often combined with the architectural designs. The subjects may be classified under four heads: mythological, *genre*, landscape, and still life, most of the large ones belonging to the first class, which includes over one half of the whole number. The landscapes we have already discussed.

Many of the mythological subjects have been selected for their dramatic or psychological interest, such as the subjects from the Tale of Troy in the house of Castor and Pollux, or for the expression of emotion, as in the well-known painting of Io delivered from Argus by Hermes. But the majority are reduced to human proportions, or modified into studies of human forms or landscapes, like the Cheiron and Achilles or the Childhood of Telephus from Herculaneum,[1] and many similar from Pompeii. Others again are selected simply as love scenes, showing a degradation of mythology which was characteristic of the age, when the only interest which the stories of the gods and heroes evoked was that they formed what has been termed 'a school of immorality.' On the other hand, many of these love scenes are free from such a reproach, and may be described as purely idyllic, like that of Polyphemus which we have already described, or the story of Paris and Oenone.

That these mythological paintings are largely copies of famous originals cannot be doubted, though only in a few cases, where literary records exist, can any such connexion be traced. The picture of Io on the Palatine at Rome, and one of Andromeda at Pompeii, probably reproduce recorded paintings by the fourth-century artist Nikias, and the famous Medea slaying her children, by Timomachus of Byzantium, may be traced in two copies, one at Pompeii, the other at Herculaneum. Another good example is to be seen in one of the paintings in the House of the Vettii at Pompeii, representing the infant Hercules strangling the serpents,

[1] Waldstein, *Herculaneum*, Pls. 16, 17 (both in Naples Museum).

POMPEIAN WALL-DECORATION IN THE ARCHITECTURAL STYLE (FROM MAU)

from an original by Zeuxis, which also finds a reflection on a painted vase in the British Museum. A copy of a painting by Athenion may be seen in a fresco representing Achilles recognized by Ulysses, now at Naples; he was an artist of the time of the great Apelles. Pictures such as these were executed by Alexandrine artists in Italy, or by Italians who had studied in Italian schools; and it is conceivable that they imitated contemporary as well as ancient masterpieces. The enormous number of these copies in existence is due to the obvious reason that originals were only within the means of a few, and reproductions must have been as much in demand as in our own day.

The variety of theme and absence of original conception which these pictures exhibit may be a sign of the deadness of the art in the first century, of which both Pliny and Petronius complain; but it has this compensation, that like the mechanical copies of Greek sculpture, they are of inestimable value to the student of art in the absence of the original masterpieces of Greek painting. On the other hand the *genre* pictures are clearly of local origin. Some are reproductions of contemporary life, such as the typically Pompeian picture of the interior of a wine-shop; or again there are examples of the domestic subjects which tend to replace the monumental frescoes, chiefly with a view to illusive effect.

In considering the imitations of Greek paintings it must always be borne in mind that their truthfulness as reproductions is weakened by the successive copyings and consequent alterations they have undergone, until they become mere approximate reminiscences of the originals. Yet in the Medea we can trace the expression of the inward feelings, as in the Io the expression of awakened hope; and equally in the Issus mosaic described below (p. 110) the expression of agitation and anger. The skill employed in grouping the figures and giving animation to the scenes is generally conspicuous; in some instances the effect is wholly plastic, as in the frieze-like arrangement of the Aldobrandini painting. Others again lack perspective, or there is a total neglect of landscape, except as a background.

As a typical example of a Pompeian mythological painting we may take that of the Sacrifice of Iphigeneia in the House of the Tragic Poet (Plate XLII.). The moment chosen is that described by

Tennyson (and in not less touching language by Aeschylus and Lucretius):

> 'My father held his hand upon his face;
> I, blinded with my tears,
> Still strove to speak; my voice was thick with sighs,
> As in a dream.'

So the painter depicts the maiden, carried off by two men, and raising her arms in vain supplication, while Agamemnon stands aside with averted eyes and veiled head, and Calchas the seer stands in an attitude of distress and perplexity at his prophecy, which, as the Greek poet says, must needs be fulfilled. In the background, however, is seen the *dea ex machina* in the person of Artemis, with a nymph bringing the deer which was to serve as a substitute.

The composition is bold but severe, with an archaic sense of symmetry, and it is especially noteworthy that the figures are quite sculpturesque in treatment; in fact, both the choice of subject and the manner of presenting it indubitably betray a Greek origin. We know that about 400 B.C. a painting of this subject was made by Timanthes, in which Calchas was represented as sorrowful, Ulysses and Ajax (who are probably the maiden's bearers in the Pompeian scene) more sorrowful, while Agamemnon's grief was such that it could not be portrayed, and therefore he was represented with veiled head. All this will apply very fairly to the Pompeian painting. The rilievo effect of the figures which we have noted is very characteristic of these pictures, many of which may be described as reliefs translated into painting, and is an unmistakable sign of Greek influence.

Other pictures besides the strictly mythological ones indicate the important part played by Love in Alexandrine art, as in poetry. This is seen not only in their representations of love stories, with their combination of 'gallantry and sentimentality,' but also in the ubiquitousness of the god of love in the form of the small Cupids or *Amoretti*, who are introduced in all sorts of scenes, mythical or otherwise, and who take part in all the actions of daily life. There is a well-known picture representing the selling of Cupids in cages like birds, and an even more remarkable series in the House of the Vettii, where they are engaged in all sorts of

THE SACRIFICE OF IPHIGENEIA
(PAINTING FROM POMPEII)

occupations, such as making and selling oil and wine, or performing the operations of goldsmiths and fullers (Plate XLIII.).

To quote Professor Mau's description[1] of one of the most effective of these subjects: 'Hardly less animated are the scenes in which Cupids take the place of goldsmiths. At the right is the furnace, adorned with the head of Hephaestus, the patron divinity of workers in metals. In front is a Cupid with a blow-pipe and pincers. Behind it another is working with a graver's tool upon a large gold vessel. The pose, suggesting at the same time exertion and perfect steadiness, is rendered with remarkable skill. Next is a figure at a small anvil; then the counter for the sale of the jewellery, which is displayed in three open drawers. Behind the case containing the drawers a large and a smaller pair of scales are seen. The first two figures in the other half of the picture represent a lady purchaser, seated, and the proprietor, who weighs out an object with a small pair of scales. The left hands of both point to the balance; they are deeply interested in the weighing. Lastly, we see two figures at an anvil. Nothing could be more natural than the pose of the one at the left, holding the metal upon the anvil for his companion to strike, yet drawing back as far as possible in order to avoid the sparks. . . . The execution is less careful than in the small mythological pictures; yet the figures are so full of life, their movements are so purposeful, and their bearing so suggestive that we seem to catch the expressions of the tiny faces. . . . Prosaic daily toil has nowhere been more happily idealized.'

Another good example of a *genre* scene is the picture of a girl musician playing on a lyre, found at Bosco Reale, and now in America. From Herculaneum we have an effective toilet-scene in a picture now at Naples.[2] Of portraiture a rare but interesting example is the panel with busts of P. Proculus and his wife, she holding a tablet and *stilus*, showing the same realism and faithful reproduction of physiognomy as the sculptured portraits.

We must not pass from the subject of Roman painting without paying some attention to the estimate made of it by the art-critic Wickhoff, whose theories, if they cannot be generally accepted, at

[1] *Pompeii* (trans. Kelsey), p. 335.

[2] Waldstein, *Herculaneum*, Pl. 32; Naples Museum, No. 1471.

least cannot be ignored. Naturally his principal subject of inquiry is the part played therein by 'illusionism'; for if this truly pictorial aspect of art is visible in Roman sculpture, it is obviously far more conspicuous in painting. He begins (p. 118) by inquiring when illusionism first makes its appearance in ancient painting, and whether it had already in antiquity attained a mastery over every pictorial problem. To this, in his opinion, the Campanian paintings supply the answer. In date they are just between the period of the later naturalistic development of Hellenistic sculpture in Rome, and of that when out of this naturalism arose the national Roman illusionist style: in other words, the middle of the first century of our era. In Campania this revolution in art was more affected by foreign influences than at Rome.

The impetus to painting as a method of decoration replacing the old 'incrustation' system (see p. 98) in the first century B.C. was given by the introduction of a new process, which facilitated and cheapened the painter's art. This was fresco-painting, a great improvement on the old encaustic method. Its popularization is referred to by Petronius, who complains that 'painting has declined since the Egyptians had the audacity to invent a shortened process for this great art.'

The second Pompeian style in Wickhoff's view is, with its heavy naturalistic imitation of real buildings, only a reflex of Hellenistic first-century sculpture as exemplified at Rome, and has the same sober and pedantic character. The paintings in the Villa of Livia are the best examples of naturalistic decorative art, as in the Prima Porta garden scene (p. 95). But a tendency to change is seen in the direction of imagination, as opposed to the mechanical and exact imitation of actual buildings. Vitruvius notes this and regrets it. Once free play is given to invention and ornament, nothing distinguishes this from the later style except the difference in pictorial treatment, which in the latter is no longer naturalistic but illusionist. The wall-paintings of the fourth style are to those of the second what the Arch of Titus is to the *Ara Pacis*.

Thus Wickhoff refuses to admit the presence of illusionism before the latest period at Pompeii, *i.e.* after A.D. 63. But here in the eyes of the unprejudiced critic his case breaks down; for, as we have seen, there is undoubted 'illusionism' in the Odyssey landscape paintings (p. 95), which must be assigned to the early years of the

CUPIDS AS GOLDSMITHS

(HOUSE OF VETTII, POMPEII.)

first century. It is true that Wickhoff endeavours to place them in the reign of Trajan; but the evidence of Pliny and Vitruvius, and what they tell us of painting in the Augustan age (p. 94) is too strong.

In the third style, according to the same critic, we find the innovations complained of by Petronius. The renascence of ancient art in the first century was due to the exhaustion of naturalism. A similar renascence had taken place in Egypt, and the effects of this are to be seen in many Pompeian details, as in the ornamental borders and the pilasters, the decoration of which looks at a distance like a band of hieroglyphs. The third style is therefore the specially Alexandrine development, or rather degeneration, of the Architectural style, and the fourth is a luxuriant growth of the third, due to the influence of Roman illusionist art. Both the Alexandrine and Roman schools existed side by side at Pompeii in the first century of the empire.

In accordance with the theory already mooted, he would see in the fourth style the beginning of illusionism at Pompeii. The impression sought after is that of a peep through the wall into a building of the artist's own invention. Illusionism is the precursor of the fantastic; the veil is drawn from a world of magic and fairy castles. 'Never again has European painting attained in decorative creations such freedom in the choice of colours, and in the extreme refinement of their colour-sense the artists of this style have never been rivalled except by the Japanese, just as their contemporaneous sculpture can only be compared with the most delicate nature studies of Eastern Asia.'

Equally stimulating and interesting is Wickhoff's account (p. 138 ff.) of the influence of Greek painting on the Roman artist. He traces its development along the same lines as sculpture from the third century B.C. to the first of our era, its degeneration into the *baroque*, and its subsequent revival. The earlier paintings 'revel in grandiose naturalism' like the drawing on the Ficoroni cista (p. 12); they are successful in rhythmic composition and foreshortening, but weak in perspective. The *baroque* period is succeeded at Pompeii by a sort of 'middle-class respectability' of tone, in which feeling and expression are restrained, and passion is calmed by simplicity of presentment. The day of the Laocoon is over, and the ideal of the Campanian artist is expressed in such a picture as the Medea from

Herculaneum (p. 100), in which we do not see the act of slaughter, but only the preparations. With reference to copies of Greek pictures in general Wickhoff points out that they were fitted into panels and differently treated from subjects which corresponded to the style of decoration. They illustrate the history of Greek painting, as if selected and placed in a picture gallery for the purpose.

The Pompeian style was not indeed suited to this class of picture, but was better adapted to the idyllic and the *genre*. In this respect it falls below the level of Rome and Herculaneum. Mythological compositions were relegated to the background because the new illusionist style concerned itself more with variety of treatment than of subject. Framed pictures were neglected for novelties in architectural design. For the most typical examples of illusionism we must look to the pictures of 'still life' of which so many effective instances are to be seen at Naples. In particular, Wickhoff quotes a seascape which he compares to the background of a painting by Goya. Illusionism first permeated painting and established itself firmly by representing the subjects which it specially affects, *i.e.* those where the spectator's attention is not drawn away from technical execution or optical results. Eventually it created a new treatment of the figure to satisfy its own inner necessities, and a new system of colouring in chiaroscuro, and it had reached this point when Pompeii was destroyed. Wickhoff quotes as the single instance of historical illusionist painting at Pompeii a picture of the Trojan Horse, where the moonlit landscape is a by no means unsuccessful attempt to represent atmospheric phenomena.

Some interesting remarks follow on the subsequent developments of the second century, when the 'continuous' method had been perfected. We cannot, unfortunately, now trace it in existing paintings from lack of material, but the reliefs on the sarcophagi, with their pictorial treatment, in some measure fill the gap. Another important witness is Philostratus, who wrote about 200 A.D., and whose descriptions of pictures collected in a gallery at Naples have been the subject of much dispute. Some critics maintain that they are purely imaginary, others that they are real pictures. However this may be, they at least bring before us the character of contemporary painting, and from his very detailed descriptions we may gather that they were not only of 'illusionist' character, but

PART OF MOSAIC AT PALESTRINA: SCENE ON THE NILE

also illustrative of the 'continuous' method.[1] The development of landscape may be similarly traced in the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius and the Arch of Septimius Severus; the increasing tendency to realism therein displayed is characteristic of Roman art as compared with its symbolical treatment in Greek. And as further examples of later Roman painting we may also cite the Fayûm portraits discussed in the beginning of this chapter.

Roman paintings to our eyes have only a moderate merit, and they do not, in fact, reach a very high level either in subject or execution. They are the work of clever craftsmen rather than real masters (hence the absence of artists' signatures); but they are not without a charm of their own, and they are eminently suited for wall-decoration, from the harmony of their colour schemes and the balance of their compositions. In judging those of Pompeii, for instance, it must also be remembered that they were originally intended to be seen in the subdued light of the Roman house, and they must be estimated accordingly. But if the student of the best Greek art also finds them displeasing, he must remember that they tell us almost all that we know about Greek frescoes and pictures; just as our knowledge of Greek sculpture is—or at all events was for many years—largely based on Roman copies and imitations, so the paintings of Pompeii and Rome have preserved for us much of the spirit and achievements of the Greek artist. And for this we owe a great debt to the Philistine Roman, who, like many would-be connoisseurs of the present day, himself devoid of imagination and true artistic taste, yet counted it a distinction 'to be imbued with Greek taste, and penetrated with a knowledge of the artistic conceptions of the Greeks.'

It is curious that, with the destruction of Pompeii the record of Roman painting practically comes to an end, at Rome as well as in Campania, and we cannot assign any existing work to a later period than that of the Flavian emperors. To a great extent its place was taken by a new method of decoration, one which had been for some time popular at Rome, but which was destined to grow more and more in favour, while other forms of art degenerated or went out of fashion. This is the art of decorating in mosaic, an account of which may, therefore, appropriately conclude this chapter.

[1] See Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, p. 163.

II. MOSAICS

Mosaic, known to the Romans as *opus musivum*, may be defined as the art of decorating the surface of a wall or pavement in imitation of painting by means of small fragments of stone, terra-cotta, or coloured glass paste, embedded in cement. The art was known to the Greeks but not much practised by them, though there is a well-known instance in the temple of Zeus at Olympia; but ancient writers tell us of artists living in the Hellenistic age, such as Sosos, 'who executed in Pergamon an unswept house, so called because it represented remains of food and other sweepings left about on the floor, by means of cubes of different colours.' We also hear of a much-to-be-admired pavement representing a dove drinking from a vessel of water, on the rim of which other doves plume themselves. Of the latter subject a well-known example exists in the Capitoline Museum at Rome, found in Hadrian's villa at Tivoli. The attitudes and grouping of the birds exactly correspond to this description, and the charm of the subject is enhanced by the iridescent colours of their plumage.

The art, however, seems to have come originally from the East, and was one much practised in Egypt; coming into popularity at Alexandria, under the Ptolemies, it was first introduced at Rome about the middle of the second century B.C. Pliny mentions one made for the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol about B.C. 150. It became general in Italy in the succeeding century, and rapidly spread into the provinces, where numerous examples still exist, covering the whole period of the Roman empire down to the Byzantine era. Of its later developments, many fine examples are to be found in Gaul, Germany, Britain, and North Africa; but the earlier examples are best studied in Italy, especially at Pompeii, where all are of course anterior to the reign of Titus. Here it was extensively used both for floors and for wall-decoration. For the former, the designs are usually confined to simple decorative patterns in black and white, or with a coloured figure design in the centre, but the wall-mosaics are more varied and elaborate in their composition. Strictly speaking, however, most mosaics are hardly works of art, though useful for the study of ornament.

The Romans drew a distinction between the terms used for these two kinds of mosaic, based on the forms of the stones of

MOSAIC REPRESENTING THE BATTLE OF THE ISSUS
(POMPEII)

which they were composed. Pavements were known as *opus tessellatum*, being formed only of small cubes, and these again were either of *opus signinum* or cubes of pounded brick and lime, or of *opus sectile*, of various harder materials. For the simple geometrical patterns these cubes or other rectilinear forms sufficed. But for wall-decoration a more elaborate form was required, and this was known as *opus vermiculatum*, or 'worm-shaped' material, comprising pieces of various sizes and shapes, often long, narrow, and sinuous. By this means they obtained a result approximating to painting, and hence a much freer scope for their subjects.

It has usually been found convenient to divide the history of Roman work in mosaic into three periods: Augustan or early empire (A.D. 1-100); Antonine or later empire (A.D. 100-300); and Constantinian or Christian. With the third or latest development we are not here concerned; the earliest is, as we have said, best illustrated at Pompeii, the intermediate period by the provincial examples. Mosaics are, in fact, rare outside Italy before the second century. All the earlier examples, such as those of Pompeii, show the influence of Alexandrine art, and especially in the choice of subjects. A notable example of this is the great mosaic at Naples, discovered at Palestrina, which represents an Egyptian landscape at the time of the inundation of the Nile (Plate XLIV.). The principal theme is a festal ceremony taking place before a temple, which illustrates the principle already noted in Roman landscape-painting, that it is always treated as a background for a figure subject. But the landscape itself is full of interest and verisimilitude, with its array of typically Egyptian animals: crocodiles, hippopotami, ibises, and serpents, swimming in the Nile waters or basking on its shores. The general absence of perspective and distinction of planes points to an early date, namely, the first century of the empire.

We find in these earlier mosaics a great variety of material used to express the different colours and effects. Some are almost like tapestries, others like miniature paintings, in the fineness and delicacy of their colour. But the process was too slow for really naturalistic effects. All kinds of subjects are found, but all show the influence either of Greece or Egypt. From Greek mythology we have such subjects as the story of Theseus, and from history the Academy of Plato, in a remarkable mosaic discovered in 1897 at Torre Annunziata. These are nearly all wall-decorations, but there are occasional

subjects on the mosaic pavements, a good instance of which is the well-known 'Cave Canem' picture on the threshold of the House of the Tragic Poet at Pompeii.

Again there are mosaics which are obviously copies of popular pictures, of which by far the most notable is the great mosaic in the House of the Faun at Pompeii, representing Alexander the Great and Darius at the Battle of the Issus (Plate XLV.). This is probably a copy, by an Alexandrian artist of the second century, of a famous painting by Philoxenus, the pupil of Nicomachos (about 300 B.C.).[1] The moment represented is the actual meeting of the two princes; Alexander is charging upon Darius, whose army turns to flight, while his horses plunge wildly under the restraining efforts of his charioteer. It is a marvellously dramatic and spirited composition, daring and successful in achievement, but though true to life, the moment is not well chosen. Among the details of the painting, the treatment of Alexander's armour and the light-and-shade effects about his head have been singled out for commendation. Goethe said of this mosaic: 'Neither the present world nor the world to come suffices to estimate rightly such an artistic marvel, and we are compelled again and again to refrain from explanatory comment and discussion in favour of pure and simple admiration.'

In the second or Antonine period, the art has become thoroughly Romanized, and now begins to find its way over the provinces. The distinction of styles still remains more or less in evidence down to the time of Diocletian, figure-subjects being always rarer in the pavements. Sometimes, however, the two are combined, and we have a system of pictures bordered by panels of elaborate patterns, as, for instance, in a mosaic at Nismes, where the subject is the marriage of Admetus and Alcestis. Even more remarkable is a great mosaic at Nennig near Trier (Trèves), with combats of gladiators and *bestiarii* (men fighting beasts) in hexagonal panels, surrounded by a wonderful arrangement of tessellated patterns of all kinds and forms. The work is exceedingly careful, if not actually fine, and great varieties of colour are obtained by the use of fragments of terra-cotta and glass paste.

Another very fine example, found in Trier itself in 1884 on the site of the museum in which it is now placed, but unfortunately some-

[1] Pliny states that he painted a *proelium cum Dario* (*Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 110). See Jex-Blake and Sellers, *Pliny's Chapters on Art*, p. 134.

PART OF MOSAIC PAVEMENT BY MONNUS
(TRIER MUSEUM)

what imperfect, is the mosaic of Monnus (Plate XLVI.). It belonged to a large building, forming the pavement of a hall nineteen feet square, and about two-thirds are preserved. The central portion deals with the musical arts, and contains nine octagonal panels, in each of which is a Muse giving instruction in her appropriate subject to a mortal; between these are smaller square panels, each with the bust of a famous writer. The outer border has representations of the months, with an appropriate deity for each, with the seasons at the corners; all the panels have guilloche borders, and in the interstices are ornamental patterns. Of the Muses the only one at all well preserved is Euterpe, who gives instruction in flute-playing; the central panel has Calliope with Homer and a figure of *Ingenium* (Genius), and the inscription MONNVS FECIT. Among the writers are Livy, Virgil, and Cicero. The probable date of this mosaic is the middle of the third century.

Other good specimens are a mosaic with athletes and gladiators found in the baths of Caracalla at Rome; one from Susa in North Africa with a remarkable portrait of Virgil; and a fine but late specimen with fishing scenes and birds on vines, recently excavated in the island of Melos by the British School. A great pavement was found in 1870 at Lillebonne in Northern France. It measures roughly 18 feet by 19 feet, and dates from the middle of the second century. In the centre is Apollo pursuing Daphne; on each side a long panel with a hunting scene: the departure for the chase, the pursuit and death of a stag, and a sacrifice of thanksgiving to Diana. Carthage, Constantine, and Timgad in North Africa have also yielded fine examples, and the British Museum has some typical pavements from the first-named site and from a Roman villa at Halicarnassos.[1] One from Carthage has figures of the months and seasons, but is unfortunately imperfect. Some of the finer mosaic pavements found in Britain present similar features to those described above, notably the great pavement at Woodchester in Gloucestershire.

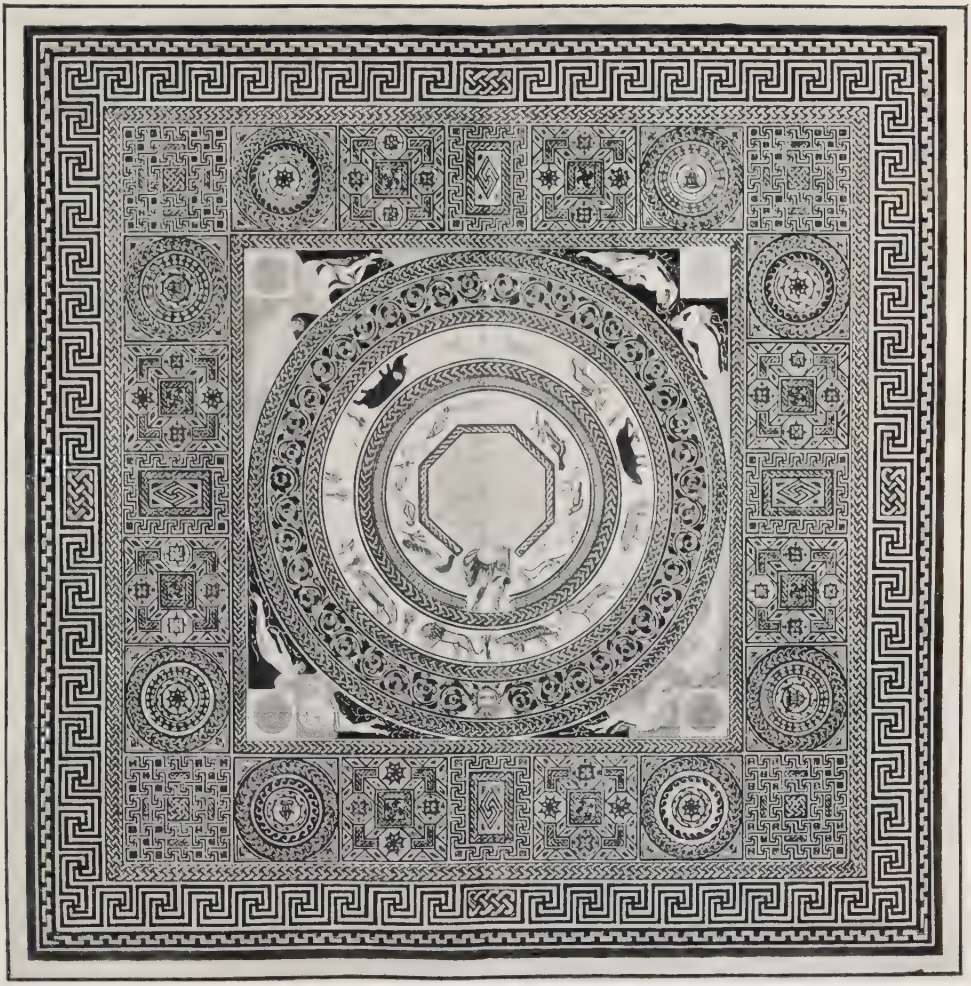
The Woodchester pavement (Plate XLVII.), which measures nearly fifty feet square, was first discovered in 1797 and then covered up, since which time it has been re-opened at stated periods. It consists of a frame of twenty-four compartments, filled in with guilloches, scrolls and fret-patterns, in the centre of which is a circle twenty-

[1] See *Builder*, 24th June, 1882, p. 757.

five feet in diameter, with a border of similar ornaments. In the centre was a figure of Orpheus, a favourite subject in Romano-British mosaics, and also occurring at Brading in the Isle of Wight and Cirencester in Gloucestershire; but this has now partly disappeared, together with a band of fishes with which it was surrounded. The outer part of the circle was divided into two bands depicting other animals subdued by the minstrel's charms; in the outer were twelve beasts, of which seven remain, in the inner are a fox and various birds. In the angles of the circle were pairs of Naiads. The mosaic is in four colours, white, brown, red, and blue, the last-named formed by fragments of the local 'blue lias' stone.

Among other pavements in Britain two of the finest are at Bramdean in Hampshire and Brading in the Isle of Wight. At the former place there is a villa with two large rooms, each with its pavement; one has an octagonal panel in the centre representing the contest of Hercules and Antaeus in the presence of Minerva. Round this are four double interlacing squares of guilloche pattern enclosing busts, and in the remaining spaces are vases, fishes, and dolphins. The other, known as the Medusa Room, has in the centre an interlacing double square with the head of the Gorgon, surrounded by an octagon with eight guilloche-bordered panels. Seven of the latter are filled with heads representing the days of the week, or rather the deities after which these were named: Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter (or Neptune?) Venus, and Saturn; the eighth head was probably Fortune or the deity Bonus Eventus, but only the third, fourth, fifth and sixth are now completely preserved. The colours used are red, blue, white, and black. Representations of the days of the week are by no means uncommon in Roman art, and may be seen on a silver statuette in the British Museum, and also on a curious bronze implement found in London. They were considered specially appropriate to the decoration of villas, and Petronius describes a mural painting with a similar subject in that of Trimalchio.

At Brading there is a large villa with several pavements. In the entrance hall is the Orpheus already mentioned; in a room at the south end of the corridor is a curious group of a cock-headed man, winged leopards, and a building with steps leading up to it. The first figure is thought to be a Gnostic deity like the Abraxas



MOSAIC PAVEMENT AT WOODCHESTER, GLOUCESTERSHIRE
(FROM LYSONS)

figure often seen on engraved gems. At the other end of this room are a head of Medusa surrounded by heads of four wind-gods, and various groups: Ceres and Triptolemus, a nymph and shepherd, a Satyr and Maenad, and Lycurgus. In the adjoining vestibule is an astronomer or philosopher with sun-dial and other attributes (column, globe, and cup); on a fourth pavement, the four seasons, and Perseus and Andromeda. Professor Haverfield describes these pavements as elaborate and ambitious, the execution not lacking in spirit; but as artistic achievements they are not successful, and are, in fact, inferior to those at Bramdean and another at Thruxton in the same county.

The other pavements worth mentioning may be briefly tabulated:—

Bignor, Sussex.—*Subjects:* Rape of Ganymede; heads of Winter and of Medusa; frieze of Cupids as gladiators; Bacchus, gladiators, and sea-deities.

Chedworth, Gloucestershire.—*Subjects:* Dancing figures; four seasons, Spring sowing, and Winter as a Roman sportsman in Britain with hood, cloak, and kilt, carrying a rabbit.

Cirencester, Gloucestershire.—*Subjects:* Orpheus, Bacchus, sea-deities, hunting scenes; medallions with Flora, Ceres, Pomona, Actaeon, etc.

Horkstow, Lincolnshire.—*Subjects:* Theseus and Ariadne; Orpheus; Tritons; chariot-race.

London (Leadenhall St.).—Bacchus riding on a panther. In British Museum.

Do. (Bucklersbury).—Geometrical patterns. In Guildhall Museum.

Thruxton, Hants.—Bacchus on panther. In British Museum.

With all their merits of effectiveness and careful execution, these later mosaics are not without grave defects, partly the result of the general decadence of art under the later emperors. Increasing want of skill in the artists is apparent, leading to a tendency to avoid figure-subjects and the free-hand drawing which they necessarily entailed, and adhere solely to geometrical patterns. The technique is also simplified by the use of larger cubes, or the avoidance of the rarer colours, such as were obtained by means of precious stones. The designs become simpler, and the surfaces enlarged, and the figures when they occur tend to become purely decorative, without any religious or ethical signification. In some of the larger compositions we note the appearance of the 'continuous method' of design already discussed in Chapter IV.; an instance of this is the Lillebonne mosaic with its hunting scenes.

There is also a tendency to employ different systems for different parts of a house, or to make distinctions between private and public buildings. In temples, for instance, the subjects are usually religious; in baths, all sorts of subjects are admitted.

The subjects are, moreover, all Roman; there are no longer traces of Greek influence. The Orpheus types, indeed, may be regarded as an exception, the popularity of this theme being due to its suitability for a central figure surrounded by animals, as at Woodchester. As a rule, only the Roman methods and Roman subjects would appeal to provincials, as in the case of the Lillebonne mosaic, which is by T. Sennius Felix of Puteoli and his Gaulish apprentice. Another characteristic of later mosaics is that they are no longer dramatic like those of the Augustan age, in which the artist tried to express human passions, but become didactic. The designer aims at instruction rather than artistic effect, and some might almost be described as 'picture-dictionaries,' with their categories of animals, of different forms of sport, or of literary episodes.

CHAPTER VI

ROMAN GEM-ENGRAVING AND METAL-WORK

Gem-engraving in the Republican period—Cameos of the Imperial period—Vases of precious stone—Intaglios of the Imperial period—Roman metal-work in gold and silver—The Bosco Reale treasure—The Hildesheim and Bernay treasures—Other examples of work in silver.

I. GEM-ENGRAVING AND CAMEOS

AS is the case in other branches of art, Roman gem-engraving is the resultant of two converging lines of artistic development, Etruscan and Greek. During the last two centuries of the Republic, following on to the disappearance of the characteristic Etruscan scarabs with the decay of that art in Etruria, the former, or what may be called the Italian influence, decidedly predominates, and Hellenizing tendencies do not assert their power until well on in the first century before Christ. Artistically, the work of this period is mostly poor, though not without its interest. The Roman dominion in Italy meant a real reaction in regard to culture, as we may see, for instance, in the coins of the cities of Southern Italy, such as Tarentum or Capua, where the beautiful Greek types are replaced by the dull inartistic Roman *denarii*.

The fact was that in the earlier Republican period the use of gems had been strictly limited at Rome by sumptuary laws, and even rings when worn were only permitted to be iron. Exceptions were made in favour of official personages, or military officers, as in the case of the Roman knights whose rings Hannibal collected after the battle of Cannae. But these rings were only used for strictly utilitarian purposes, that is, to hold gems which were used for sealing. Hence the frequent occurrence of Latin names on the gems of this period, denoting the owners. The signet-ring of L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus (300 B.C.), a sard engraved with a

Victory, was found in his sarcophagus at Rome. As the custom of wearing seal-rings increased, the demand for engraved gems naturally also grew greater, and the fact that they were not intended to serve any ornamental purpose accounts for the scanty attention paid to their execution.

To the same cause is due the introduction of glass paste as a common material for engraved gems in the second century B.C. This material was coloured in imitation of precious stones, and though it is in itself of no intrinsic value, the designs are important, not only as illustrating a phase in the history of gem-engraving, but from the fact that they are usually copies of well-known original gems. The majority are imitations of sardonyx or nicolo (a stone of two layers, the upper bluish-grey, through which the design was cut into the underlying brown); red pastes, however, are rare, such stones as carnelian being difficult to imitate. The designs are composed of small sinkings, united by finely-cut lines. The subjects, like those of Etruscan gems, are mostly from heroic legend, especially from the Tale of Troy, but there is also a fondness for religious and sacrificial themes, in which Etruscan influence is apparent. Some of these subjects are of a necromantic character; others represent Etruscan deities, such as the mysterious Tages, or Roman religious ceremonies, such as the dances of the Salii. All these gems are of the ordinary form for ring-settings, the scarab having entirely disappeared.

Their position in art is, as has been pointed out, quite isolated, representing what Furtwaengler termed *old Roman art.*[1] They point to the significance of Etruscan art and civilization in the Rome of Republican times, as in the religious notions which they illustrate. But Greek influence gradually encroaches upon Italy during the second and first centuries, until in the latter it wins a complete victory.

We see its results in a new development in gem-engraving. The somewhat hard and dry style of the Italian gems gives way to a softer and less restrained style, aiming more at a plastic effect. The types and motives are those of Hellenistic art, such as the child-Cupids, the types of Herakles created by Lysippus, or the goddess Isis; but the majority of the subjects are Bacchic or erotic, or of a theatrical nature. Finally these two currents of art combine into one

[1] *Antike Gemmen*, iii. p. 268.

ROMAN INTAGLIOS IN BRITISH MUSEUM

1-5. REPUBLICAN PERIOD. 6-14. PASTES. 15-17. PORTRAITS. 18-20. COPIES OF STATUES.
11-25. IMPERIAL PERIOD. 26-31. ARTISTS' SIGNATURES

stream in the first century B.C., in which, although the Greek style has triumphed over the local and national elements, the subjects are often more Roman in character. We find, for instance, themes from Roman history or legend, such as the story of Marcus Curtius; the Roman influence also makes itself felt in the fondness for portraiture.

With the end of the Republic this local style dies out altogether in Italy, thrust aside by the influx of Greek artists into Rome. The Greek engraver, even if he adopted Roman ideas, executed them in purely Greek style, and even Roman artists sign their names in Greek letters. The typically Roman glass pastes are still found down to the middle of the first century after Christ, but gradually die out by the end of it. In many of the gems of this period we see signs of the same eclectic and even archaistic school which proclaims a revolt against the *rococo* tendencies of the Hellenistic age, and found its chief exponent in Pasiteles (p. 49).

Gem-engraving, indeed, now shows an improvement both in quantity and in quality, as is the case with other branches of art in the Augustan period. But they vary greatly in style, as may be seen by comparing two heads of Julius Caesar in the British Museum, one of which is treated with a largeness and simplicity equal to the work of earlier engravers, the other so minutely cut as to lose all artistic feeling. It now became the fashion with great people to make collections of gems, and we hear of those of Pompey (whose signet was a lion holding a sword), Marcellus, and Julius Caesar; that of the last-named was kept in the temple of Venus Genetrix. Many of the contemporary portraits on gems are valuable as chronological *data*, from Augustus down to Julia, the daughter of Titus. The seal which the former emperor used had his own portrait cut by the famous engraver Dioscorides, whose name is found on many gems, though its genuineness has been in most cases disputed.

'Nowhere,' says Mrs. Strong,[1] 'is the genius of the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods made more manifest than in the art of the gem-engraver and of the cameo-cutter. The artists . . . . were often Greeks, but the technique and artistic conception are frankly Augustan — the continuation and development, it may be, of Hellenic methods, but no mere imitation.' She cites in particular

[1] *Roman Sculpture*, p. 91.

five exceptionally fine gems from the collection at Devonshire House. Of these the best is signed by the great Dioscorides, and represents Ulysses and Diomedes carrying off the Palladion: Furtwaengler says of it: 'The tender delicacy of treatment, combined with a very low relief, is masterly. Every detail shows a fine rich modelling, and yet the execution is so delicate as to seem breathed in.' Another, signed by Graios, treats the same subject in a somewhat coarser manner. In a third, with Hercules carrying a bull, 'the invention brings out excellently the contrasting effect of the burden and the robust strength of the hero. The lion's skin is executed with special delicacy in very low relief.' The remaining two are admirable portraits of Pompey and of a lady of the Claudian period, perhaps Antonia, the mother of the emperor.

The gems are mostly of the ordinary form for ring-settings, flat or convex; the majority are flat, but for certain materials, such as beryl, amethyst, or rock-crystal, the convex form was preferred. The large gems and cameos cannot have been intended for finger-rings, but must have formed ornaments for vessels, pendants of necklaces, or other objects. Great variety is apparent in the materials used, precious stones being now easily obtained, and stones now come to be valued in themselves apart from the designs, as was never the case in Greece. Of this the popularity of the cameo is a clear indication. Among the new varieties may be mentioned nicolo, red jasper, emerald plasma, and horizontally-striped sardonyx; nicolo was especially favoured for copies of statues. But on the whole transparent stones like carnelian and sard were preferred. For cameos the usual material was, of course, sardonyx, which is composed of alternate layers of brown sard and white onyx, and was cut down vertically to produce the required effect. There are some curious examples in the British Museum of the manner in which the stone could be manipulated to produce contrasts or varied effects, in particular one with a four-horse chariot, in which the horses are cut out of successive layers so as to be alternately white and brown. This must, however, be regarded as a sign of somewhat degraded art, not only as being a mere technical device, but as producing flat and defective modelling. Or again, in portraits the hair is cut out of a brown layer, the face out of the underlying white. Cameos in very high relief were also cut out of other materials such as amethyst or chalcedony; of the former there is a

CAMEO WITH DEIFIED AUGUSTUS AND HIS FAMILY
(CABINET DE MÉDAILLES, PARIS)

fine specimen in the British Museum in the form of a head of Medusa (Plate LII.), the stone measuring $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height. The technique of the period is as a whole on a very high level, and the style is both sharper and more sober than that of the Hellenistic gems.

Cameo-cutting reaches its height during the early part of the first century, after which there is rapid degeneration. It is in the earlier cameos that we see the best and most typical work of this period, and they are important not only from their artistic character, but from the frequent evidence of dating they afford in the numerous examples of portraits of Imperial personages. There are some half-dozen in particular, of exceptional size, with historical or quasi-historical subjects, which combine these two features of interest; these are the respective possessions of the British Museum, the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris, and the museums of Berlin, Vienna, and Petersburg.

The Vienna cameo, known as the *Gemma Augustea*,[1] is an onyx measuring about $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, representing the deification of Augustus. The Emperor is seated on a throne with the goddess Roma at his side; above is the symbol of Capricorn, the constellation which, as Suetonius tells us, he adopted for his own; and at his feet is an eagle which seems to suggest that he is deified as Jupiter. The personified figure of Rome may be intended for Livia. On the left is seen a triumphal car, from which Tiberius steps down, carrying a sceptre. In the car is Victory, who has acted as charioteer, and at the horses' heads stands Germanicus. On the right, behind Augustus, are three very effective figures; a woman, explained as representing the inhabited earth, placing a wreath on the head of Augustus; a bearded man, probably Oceanus, and a figure of Tellus, recalling that on the *Ara Pacis* (p. 53). A lower row of figures represents Roman soldiers erecting a trophy, round which are grouped barbarian captives. The reference appears to be to the victories achieved by Tiberius in Pannonia A.D. 9, for which he celebrated a triumph four years later. This cameo is attributed by Furtwaengler to the well-known artist Dioscorides.

There is also a second fine cameo at Vienna, with four busts of Imperial persons, each rising out of a cornucopia, with an eagle between; the identification of the personages is not absolutely

[1] Furtwaengler, *Ant. Gemmen*, Pl. 56.

certain, but it undoubtedly belongs to the reign of Claudius. Probably we have on the one side the emperor himself with Messalina or the younger Agrippina; on the other, Germanicus with Agrippina the elder. It is a piece of fine and careful work, the profiles sharply cut, and the modelling very delicate.

The Paris cameo[1] has a similar subject to the large Vienna one, but is not such a fine piece of work; on the other hand it is said to be the largest of all antique sardonyx cameos, measuring about 12 by 10 inches, and is cut in no less than five layers. It represents the deified Augustus taking under his protection various members of the Julio-Claudian family. In the centre is a group consisting of Tiberius seated with Livia at his side, before whom stand Germanicus and his mother Antonia. On the left stand Caligula and Agrippina the elder; on the right, Drusus, the son of Tiberius, and his wife. Above we see the deified Augustus borne aloft in triumph by a Genius with a globe, accompanied by a figure on a winged horse; below the scene is a group of captives. The date of this work is obviously just after the death of Augustus, a few years later than the Vienna gem, and the subject probably has reference to the mission of Germanicus to the East in A.D. 17.

Mrs. Strong[2] calls attention to the peculiarly Roman character of the Paris cameo, and the advance in composition over that of Vienna, which is more in the Hellenic manner, with its two friezes. Here there is more unity of design, and the picture must be viewed as a whole, not as consisting of zones. The manner in which the opportunities yielded by the light and dark layers of the material have been seized for the effective 'lighting' of the figures is worthy of all commendation. 'No reproduction can do justice to this exquisite work, with the Rubens-like opulence of its forms, its mastery of design, the warm colours of the stone itself, the skill with which they have been discovered and utilized by the artist, the feeling for light and shadow displayed throughout.'

The date of the British Museum large cameo (Plate L.) has been somewhat disputed. It is a sardonyx of four layers, measuring 7 by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and has been restored in gold, with the names of the Emperor Didius Julianus (A.D. 193) and his wife Manlia Scantilla inscribed above. It was formerly in the great Marlborough Collection at Blenheim, but passed into other hands and was acquired by

[1] Furtwaengler, *op. cit.* Pl. 60. See Plate XLIX.

[2] *Roman Sculpture*, p. 90.

CAMEO IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, REPRESENTING AN EMPEROR AND HIS WIFE

the museum in 1899. It is maintained by some authorities that the inscriptions are substantially if not strictly correct according to its style and that it is therefore a work of the end of the second century. If this is correct it is certainly a remarkable piece of work for that period, the execution being most skilful and delicate, even if the conception is more characteristic of a late epoch. But the idealization of Imperial personages which is here such a marked feature is, as we have seen, thoroughly characteristic of the early empire, and Furtwaengler may have been correct in assigning it to the period of Claudius. Its subject is that of two portrait-busts facing each other, a bearded man with the ram's horns of Jupiter Ammon, the aegis of Athena and an oak-wreath, and a woman wearing the chiton of Isis with its peculiar knot in front (p. 84), and garlanded with oak-leaves, pomegranates, and poppies. Both heads are too much idealized to afford evidence as portraits, but they are obviously an Imperial pair, and the authority already quoted saw in them Claudius and one of his wives.

Among cameos of less extravagant proportions none is more famous than the bust of Augustus, also in the British Museum (Plate LI.). It was formerly in the Strozzi Collection, and has in fact been handed down from time immemorial without having been buried or lost, like other well-known examples, of which we read as being in the possession of bishops, cardinals, and other church dignitaries. Augustus is represented as a youth wearing the aegis with the Gorgon's head, and an elaborate gold diadem, the effect of which has unfortunately been marred by the insertion of small precious stones in modern times.

Among the cameos from the Carlisle Collection in the British Museum are two fine ones representing ladies of the Imperial family (Plates LI.-LII.): in the one Julia appears with the attributes of Diana; in the other, the same lady as Minerva appears in profile side by side with Livia as Juno. They are, however, somewhat idealized for portraits. At Windsor Castle there is a fine portrait of Claudius in a cuirass, and this emperor, like Augustus, appears to have greatly favoured cameo-engraving. Another fine gem, but of later date, is the portrait of Julia, the daughter of Titus, signed by Euodos, a noble and refined piece of work. Many cameos of the early Imperial period have mythological subjects, usually of the kind favoured by Hellenistic or Alexandrine art. A large propor

tion are Bacchic, or representations of Venus and Cupid, or of Cupid and Psyche. In general there is a preference for pictorial motives, but some are more plastic in character.

Two developments of cameo-engraving are in the direction, firstly, of works in the round (especially portrait-busts) in precious stones, such as onyx or chalcedony, secondly, of the ornamentation of large vases with reliefs in the same materials. Of the former, a good example is the head of Agrippina the elder, in green 'root of emerald' or *plasma*, recently acquired by the British Museum (Plate LII.). It is about $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, a charming and delicate piece of work. Sir Cecil Smith says: 'It is pre-eminent as a work of sculpture, not only for its consummate art, but for the exquisite beauty of the material.'[1] He regards it as the work of a master in the greatest age of portraiture. These portraits on a small scale seem to be the outcome of the Alexandrine taste for *genre*, developed by the Romans. Of the second variety perhaps the finest specimen is the beautiful sardonyx cup in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris (Plate LIII.), known as the 'cup of the Ptolemies.'[2] It is cut out of a single stone, with reliefs like cameos. The subject is a sort of 'Bacchic still life,' or preparations for a Bacchic ceremony, including a table with drinking-cups, masks, and vine-wreaths. The layers of white and brown stone are so manipulated as to give an extraordinarily rich effect of colour; but the composition is somewhat crowded, and the experiment can hardly be considered altogether in good taste. At Naples there is a fine patera of agate with a head of Medusa and a figure of the Nile, known as the 'Farnese Cup.'

In the famous Portland Vase in the British Museum (Plate LIV.) we have—not a vase in precious stone, but—an exact imitation of this process in dark blue and opaque white glass paste. The vase was produced by blowing the glass in two layers, the inner blue, the outer in opaque white, and the latter was then cut away except where the designs were to come, these being carefully chased and left adhering to the inner blue glass. The handles, which are of blue glass resting on the white, terminate in masks of Pan, which divide the figures into two groups. On the one side, we see a woman seated on a rock with a sea-monster at her side,

[1] *Burlington Magazine*, xi. 1907, p. 99.

[2] See Furtwaengler, *Ant. Gemmen*, iii. p. 157.

CAMEO PORTRAITS OF AUGUSTUS AND JULIA

(BRITISH MUSEUM)

extending her hand to a man who approaches, led by a flying Cupid; on the right is Poseidon watching the scene, and in the background a fig-tree, an olive, and a Doric building. The scene is obviously the courting of some sea-goddess, and the most appropriate explanation is the wooing of Thetis by Peleus. On the other side of the vase a sleeping woman is watched by a man, who again is watched by another female figure; this subject has not been explained with certainty, but may be (with reference to the other side) Peleus watching over his sleeping bride, with Aphrodite, or perhaps some local personification, presiding over the scene. On the bottom of the vase is a bust of Paris in relief. It was probably executed in the first century of the empire.

Intaglios of the earlier Imperial period show, as has often been noted, so close a connexion with Hellenistic art, that it is often difficult to assign gems definitely to either of these periods. The similarity is not confined to their style; the repertory of subjects, such as Cupids or the story of Cupid and Psyche, is much the same in either case. Both painting and sculpture supplied the gem-engraver with ideas; that is to say, that Roman Imperial gems are both pictorial and plastic in type. To the former class belong subjects of a dramatic or emotional character, such as the subjects of Medea slaying her children or the frenzied Ajax, themes which had occupied the painter Timomachus of Byzantium in the third century. To the latter belong the copies of sculpture of all periods which, like those on the contemporary coins, have proved so valuable for the reconstruction of ancient, lost masterpieces. We find copies of archaic, fifth-, and fourth-century work; of primitive *xoana* or wooden cult-statues, of the Milesian Apollo by Canachos, and of the athletic types created by Myron and Polycleitos; more rarely of Hellenistic and purely Roman work. They are an illustration of the classicism of the Augustan age, which had been awakened by the influx of Greek masterpieces into Rome, to a lively interest in the creations of its predecessors.

Other types again undoubtedly owe their popularity to the influence of metal-work, which, as we shall see in the next chapter, was so potent in the terra-cotta reliefs and pottery of the period. There are the same favourite themes of the Seasons and the frenzied Maenad, the Victory sacrificing a bull, and the dancing priestesses. In fact, the influence of metal-work in all the art of this period

cannot be too highly estimated. It set the fashion to all other forms of decorative art.

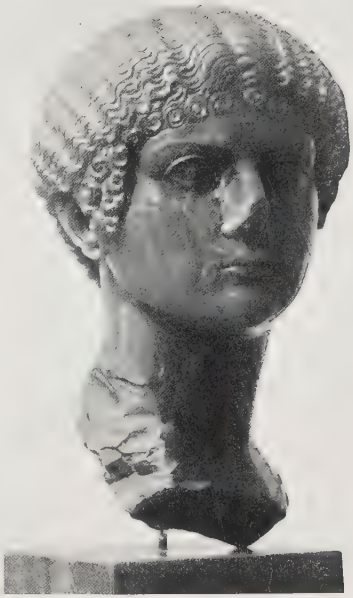
As in the cameos, the fondness for portraiture also asserts itself; but it is not confined to the representation of contemporary members of the Imperial families; there are numerous examples which portray the Greek writers and philosophers with more or less exactitude or conformity to the recognized types. Another popular group of subjects is formed by those of a symbolical nature or intended for superstitious charms, such as the so-called *grylli*, combinations of human, animal, and monstrous forms.

In the later Imperial period, from the beginning of the second century onwards, we find little in the way of artistic gem-engraving. Most of the gems are of inferior, careless work, without any merit, and the art seems generally to have fallen into disfavour. This is somewhat curious, because the coins of the second century are often works of considerable merit, and show that the artists were not without ability. Cameos of the period are very rare, and the glass pastes come entirely to an end; there was, however, a good example of the former in the Marlborough Collection, representing Julia Paula, the wife of Elagabalus. We have also seen that the great cameo from the same collection has been held by some authorities to be as late as the end of the second century.

But the majority of the gems of the period are small and insignificant, and the *grylli* or charms, and such simple subjects as masks or meaningless figures form the chief stock-in-trade of the engraver. A new type which now finds favour is that of the cameos with inscriptions in relief, the letters being in white onyx on the plain sard background. The inscriptions are somewhat analogous to those of the modern 'posy' rings, many being of an amatory character, and a favourite type is that in which the words are accompanied by a hand pulling an ear, as a sign of remembrance. One of these cameos has the words: 'I love you not; be not deceived; but I know it full well, and laugh thereat.'[1] Others remind us of the mottoes of ancient families in our own country, such as the 'They say; what say they? Let them say' of the Scotch Earls Marischal, the Roman counterpart of which is 'They say what they will; let them say; I reck not of it.'[2] The Gnostic

[1] οὐ φιλῶ· μὴ πλάνω· νοῶ δὲ εὖ καὶ γελῶ.

[2] λέγουσιν ἃ θέλουσιν· λεγέτωσαν· οὐ μελεί μοι.



PLASMA BUST OF AGRIPPINA AND CAMEOS REPRESENTING MEDUSA AND LIVIA AS MINERVA

(BRITISH MUSEUM)

and other mystical gems of this period were very popular as talismans, but have little artistic interest.

To this sketch of the gem-engraving of the Roman period we may profitably append a few words on the metal-work which, as we have seen, plays such an important part in the decorative art of this age. Of Roman coins it is hardly possible to treat from an artistic point of view, their interest being almost purely historical, though it must not be forgotten that they are invaluable as an aid to the study of Roman portraiture, from the safe evidence they afford for identifications.

II. METAL-WORK

We have already had occasion more than once to draw attention to the important part played by metal-work in the history of Roman art. Vases of precious metal now largely take the place occupied in the Hellenic period by bronze reliefs and gold ornaments as examples of the highest skill of the chaser and goldsmith. They also to a great extent take the place formerly occupied by painted pottery, especially among people of wealth and luxurious habits. And finally they exercise, as we have already observed, a remarkable influence on other branches of decorative art.

The impetus to the art of chasing metal vases was given as early as the fourth century, when a great school of chasers was established in Asia Minor, the foremost names in which are Mys and Mentor. Their reputation appears to have been great and lasting, and Pliny speaks in commendatory terms of their work, specimens of which must have been handed down even to his time. The general looting of the art treasures of Greece and Asia Minor in the days of Mummius and Sulla doubtless brought numerous metal masterpieces to Rome which were much prized and imitated. There was also a school of metal-workers at Alexandria, whose influence is less marked.

Roman ornamented metal vases are almost all of silver, and the methods of decoration fall under three heads: repoussé work, chasing, and separately attached reliefs (*emblemata* or *crustae*). In repoussé work the designs are beaten out from inside, but in chasing this process is reversed, the work being done on the surface. The majority of our best examples belong to the time of Augustus,

when the versatile Pasiteles flourished; he seems to have applied to other arts the principles in which he had been trained as a metal-worker (see above, p. 49). He was followed by Zopyrus (see p. 132), Pytheas, who made a cup with the rape of the Palladion, and finally Teucer, who is styled a *crustarius*, or maker of the vases with separately attached reliefs. Zenodorus, an artist of the time of Nero, copied cups by the sculptor Calamis, and his copies, it was said, could hardly be distinguished from the originals. But subsequently the art seems to have fallen into disrepute, and imitations of antique work ceased to appeal.

For the study of Roman silver work we are fortunate in possessing several remarkable 'treasures' or collections of plate belonging to wealthy Romans of the time of Augustus, besides various single specimens of conspicuous excellence. Of the former, by far the most splendid is the great Bosco Reale treasure, found in 1895 in the neighbourhood of Pompeii, and purchased by Baron Edmund de Rothschild for the Louvre.[1] In Paris there is also the Bernay treasure in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and Berlin can boast in the Hildesheim treasure a worthy rival to those of the neighbouring capital.

These sumptuous collections of plate demand a fuller description. That of Bosco Reale we are able to date previous to A.D. 79, as the site was overwhelmed by the eruption which destroyed Pompeii, and the character of the designs in some cases places them considerably earlier, in the middle of the reign of Augustus. The vessels are mostly table-ware, that is, drinking-cups, bowls, and jugs, the cups being usually in pairs, the eating-vessels in sets of three, corresponding to the arrangement of the *triclinium*; but in many cases they seem to have been intended for ornament rather than use. Along with these were found a few ornamental mirrors. The shallower bowls or paterae in particular cannot have been used for drinking, as the centre is usually ornamented with a bust or other design in very high relief, like a boss on a shield (whence they were known as *imagines clipeatae*).

Among the latter is one very striking example[2] (Plate LV.) with a bust of a woman down to the waist in high relief, with somewhat masculine features and hair. The emblems with which she is accompanied seem to imply that a personification of Africa is

[1] See generally *Monuments Piot*, v. p. 39 ff., with full illustrations. [2] *Op. cit.*, Pl. 1.

CUP OF THE PTOLEMIES, WITH BACCHIC SUBJECTS

(CABINET DES MÉDAILLES, PARIS)

intended; her head is covered with an elephant's skin, and she holds in her hand the Egyptian serpent, the *uraeus*, as a symbol of royal dignity and divine power; at her side are a lion and a panther, and a horn of plenty. The subject is interesting as illustrating the prevalence of Egyptian notions in Campania, and in particular at Pompeii (*cf.* p. 92). Another patera with a bust of an elderly man,[1] carved almost in the round, had for its fellow a similar vessel with a piece rent out of the middle; it had clearly held a companion bust, and this has been identified in a similar bust now in the British Museum. The latter represents an elderly woman with hair arranged in the manner affected by ladies of the post-Augustan age, and it is probable that the two are portraits of a husband and wife, though not necessarily persons of rank or distinction, living in the reign of Claudius. The silver bust of Trimalchio, which Petronius describes as being handed round at his dinner-party, must have been something of this kind.

Two of the jugs[2] have subjects in the 'classical' style of the Augustan period, like the terra-cotta reliefs and the Arretine pottery discussed in the following chapter: in this case two Victories sacrificing animals to a goddess who is probably meant for Rome, though her attitude is that of the Athena Promachos, the Defender of Athens. Of the two mirrors, one has on the reverse, in the position that an image would have in the mirror, a bust of Ariadne or a Maenad in bold relief, a very delicate piece of work; the other has the subject of Leda offering drink to the swan, the subject being treated with considerable reserve, and the relief free from exaggeration.

The drinking-cups, which mostly form pairs, are remarkable both for the elegance of their form and decoration, and for the subjects with which they are ornamented. Two in particular[3] may be cited, with groups of skeletons (Plate LVI.), intended, says Professor Mau, as a satire on human life and its interpretation in poetry and philosophy. Such subjects were characteristic of the Hellenistic period, and other examples are known, but none so fine as the Bosco Reale pair, which date from the time of Augustus. The designs are both unique and original, elegant and instructive, and the figures, which are not produced from stamps like those on pottery (Chap. VII.), are vividly conceived, and interesting both

[1] *Op. cit.*, Pl. 2. [2] *Op. cit.*, Pls. 3, 4. [3] *Op. cit.*, Pls. 7, 8.

in technique and composition. Inscriptions 'translate the thought which has inspired the decoration' (Villefosse).

There is a striking parallelism between the two cups, on each of which are thirteen skeletons, eight larger and five smaller, the latter in the subordinate capacity of servants or musicians. They fall into four groups on each cup, the principal figures being—

(1) (*a*) Three unnamed; (*b*) Sophocles; (*c*) Moschion and a lyre-player; (*d*) the philosophers Zeno and Epicurus.

(2) (*a*) Three unnamed; (*b*) Menander and Archilochus; (*c*) Euripides; (*d*) the cynic Monimus and another philosopher, probably Demetrius of Phalerum.

It will be seen that (1 *b*) balances (2 *c*) and (1 *c*) is opposed to (2 *b*). Each figure is characterized by attribute and attitude, and there are also subordinate details in illustration of the subjects. Thus Epicurus is accompanied by two pigs,[1] Monimus by two dogs;[2] while the garlands of roses surrounding the upper part of the cups may be intended to symbolize the brevity of life. The two pairs of philosophers represent opposite doctrines, Zeno being the typical Stoic, and the scene between him and Epicurus is very animated, their gestures showing that they are disagreeing in argument.

Of no less interest are the inscriptions which are dispersed over the two cups, applying not only to the figures but to the subordinate details. Thus on the first cup are a skull inscribed σοφία ('wisdom'), a papyrus roll with δόξαι ('opinions'), and a column on which is a figure of the Fate Clotho. Of the three unnamed skeletons the first, over whose head is τέρψις ('enjoyment'), carries a purse labelled φθονοί ('envyings') and a butterfly (ψυχίον), the emblem of the soul, whose wing he is tearing off; above the other, who carries a wreath, are the words ζῶν μεταλάβε τὸ γὰρ αὔριον ἄδηλόν ἐστι ('make the best of life, for the morrow is uncertain'). The whole scene expresses the idea of the transitoriness of material enjoyment. The poet Moschion holds a torch marked ζωή ('life') and a mask of an old man labelled σκήνη ὁ βίος ('life's a stage'); Epicurus lays his hand on a cake, above which is τὸ τέλος ἡδονή ('the end of life is pleasure').

Other cups have Bacchic and erotic subjects, which were considered specially appropriate for drinking-vessels; and others again,

[1] *Cf.* Hor. *Ep.* i. 4, 16: 'Epicuri de grege porcus.'

[2] Cynic is from κύων, a dog.

THE PORTLAND VASE
(BRITISH MUSEUM)

still life' subjects, or groups of storks or cranes, with humorous detail. In the treatment of these birds we are to some extent reminded of Japanese decorative art, but the difference lies in the symmetrical tendencies of the Roman artist. This symmetrical principle is conspicuous in the plant ornaments, which otherwise are treated with the naturalism characteristic of the Augustan age.

Professor Mau illustrates some cups of the same kind found at Pompeii itself which are interesting for their subjects; one represents the apotheosis of Homer, who is borne up to heaven by an eagle, while on either side sits an allegorical figure: the Iliad as a warrior, with helmet, shield, and spear, the Odyssey with a sailor's cap and steering-oar. Another cup has Centaurs with Cupids on their backs and Bacchic emblems; it may be compared with two from Bosco Reale, one of which has the infant Bacchus on a panther escorted by Cupids, while others torment an ass; the other shows the Cupids tormenting an elephant and taming a lion.[1] A third cup has a simple but very effective decoration of large ivy-leaves grouped round the bowl but almost detached from it, as if a real wreath had been placed round it—an almost perfect imitation of nature.

There are also two remarkable cups still in private possession,[2] with reliefs which relate to the glorification of Augustus and Tiberius. They are of all the Bosco Reale cups the most magnificent, and are further of interest for the relation of their subjects to the reliefs of the *Ara Pacis* already described (p. 53), as well as to the great cameos of Vienna and Paris. On the one cup Augustus is portrayed as master and pacificator of the universe, receiving the submission of a group of barbarians brought before him by a general, probably Drusus. 'The conquered people are bringing their children to the emperor, who is conceived, not as a stern conqueror, but as a benign divinity'; and M. de Villefosse points out[3] that the type is one afterwards employed by Christian artists for the Adoration of the Magi. On the other side of the cup is a similar scene, equally marked by freshness and grace. Here the emperor is approached by a procession which by an artistic convention is split into two halves, one advancing from each side. On

[1] *Monum. Piot*, v. Pls. 5, 6. Compare the group by Arcesilaus described on p. 52.
[2] *Op. cit.*, Pls. 31-36; Mrs. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, Pl. 27, p. 83.
[3] *Monum. Piot*, v. p. 156; see also Mrs. Strong, p. 85.

the left is a figure interpreted by Mrs. Strong as Valour (Virtus), presenting to him a figure of Victory; she is followed by the *Genius Populi Romani* or personified Spirit of the Roman People, and the personified city herself. On the right Mars introduces figures personifying conquered countries, of which Africa alone can be identified by her helmet of elephant-skin. These figures are very skilfully grouped.

Of the first scene a recent writer[1] says: 'Apart from the penetrative charm with which the episode is delineated, the figures are grouped so as to produce an illusion of natural space or depth, in a manner which is quite unknown to any Hellenistic work, and which marks an advance upon the *Ara Pacis*. The artist surpasses his first achievement on the principal [*i.e.* the last described] face of the vase,' having here not had recourse to the expedient of splitting up the procession, but presents it 'as a pictorial whole, giving it unity by the skilful distribution of the figures that compose the Imperial guard, in such a manner that they effect a fusion between the central group and the advancing chieftains. The psychical unity of the two scenes is unparalleled in any previous work.'

On the other cup Tiberius, accompanied by his consular *cortège*, offers sacrifice at the Capitol before his departure for Pannonia, which event took place in 12 B.C., though the view is also held that he is here represented as triumphing. In any case, it has been observed, this is the earliest known instance of an Imperial procession with the chief personage in a chariot. On the reverse of the cup is represented the act of sacrifice, the slaying of a bull being treated with great vigour and effectiveness.

In the Bosco Reale vases Alexandrine influence is seen to be strongly at work, especially in the patera with the figure of Africa; it is apparent in form, technique, and ornamentation alike. But it is not the only influence which makes itself felt. We have already noted the 'classic' or 'new Attic' style of the two jugs, and the cups with storks are thought to be reminiscences of the metal-work of Asia Minor, where similar vessels have been found. But the artists' names which occur on some of the pieces show that they were actually manufactured in the locality. At all events these vases are only one more instance of a tendency continually confronting us in Roman art, that of following certain methods and

[1] Mrs. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, p. 85.

SILVER PATERA FROM BOSCO REALE WITH BUST OF AFRICA
(LOUVRE)

decorative principles without regard to the material employed. We shall see another instance of this in the Arretine pottery described in the next chapter.

As Dr. Dragendorff has pointed out in dealing with the last-named subject, in all materials the same kind of art is exhibited and the same elements of decoration employed. The artists work with the motives of four centuries before them, and are able to combine afresh the most different themes. But this is really the weakness of their art. There is no creativeness, and all is borrowing; its elegance really leaves us cold. If the art of the Pergamene School was spoiled by exceeding the mean, that of the Augustan age is marred by falling short of it; it is void of all soul and passion.

The Hildesheim treasure at Berlin is in all respects closely related to that of Bosco Reale, though the latter, except in the variety of forms, is more elaborate and magnificent. The latter, moreover, are mostly of one period, the age of Augustus or thereabouts, whereas the Hildesheim vases appear to be of different dates. One patera in particular (Plate LVII.) stands by itself, and is more Greek in style than anything we have hitherto noted. It has a figure of Athena seated, the style of which recalls the coins of the second-century Pergamene kings, and it is encircled by a border of palmettes quite Greek in character. As it can hardly be an imitation, it has confidently been assigned to the Hellenistic period. Of the later pieces the *chef-d'œuvre* is usually considered to be a large *crater* (Plate LVII.), the surface of which is covered with a graceful composition of tendrils, leaves, and flowers, springing from a central stem, at the base of which are seated two Gryphons grouped in heraldic fashion. Another *crater* has a laurel-wreath with berries round the body treated much in the style of the Pompeian cup already described; the form is one known in Arretine pottery (p. 145), and the decoration is altogether in the style of that ware. There are also two fine *canthari*, ornamented with cranes, masks, and floral decoration, dating from the time of Augustus; on one of these, large masks of bearded Satyrs are combined with interlacing vine-tendrils and leaves.

The vases from Bernay in the Bibliothèque Nationale are of various dates and unequal merit; some are ornamented with very prominent repoussé work, others are in lower relief, with slight delicate lines. One of the most remarkable is a jug with chased

ornamental patterns and repoussé ornaments on the handles for its subsidiary decoration, the principal subjects being taken from the Tale of Troy. They include the carrying off of the Palladium, Achilles with the body of Patroclus, and the same hero with the body of Hector. On another jug we have the death of Achilles and the episode of Ulysses and Dolon. The elegance of these vases and the good taste shown in the compositions suggest a good period of art, but the heaviness of the figures and other unmistakably Roman details tell another tale. Some cups with Bacchic subjects show fine execution, but are marred by a superabundance of ornament and a want of taste and moderation which forbid us to place them earlier than the second century after Christ.

Turning to isolated examples of Roman metal-work we have in the Corsini vase at Rome a copy of some well-known original such as the pair of cups by Zopyrus which Pliny describes, representing the trial of Orestes; and in the chasing of a cup at Munich with the subject of Trojan captives an example of sobriety and largeness of style worthy of the best period. The latter is a rare example of a chased vase, whereas in a magnificent gold patera or shallow bowl from Rennes, now in the Bibliothèque at Paris, we have an example of the *emblema* or attached medallion, such as we find at Bosco Reale. The central medallion represents Bacchus challenging Hercules to a drinking bout, the sequel of which appears in the frieze surrounding it, where the god triumphs over the intoxicated hero. Round the frieze is a laurel-wreath, and round the edge of the patera six gold coins are inserted, ranging in date from Hadrian to Geta, and enabling us to date the work in the early part of the third century. In spite of the late date the figures may be described as really beautiful, preserving the great traditions of Greek sculpture. The relief is not so exaggerated as usual in Roman work, as, for instance, in some of the Hildesheim vases which belong to the time of Augustus. Among the latter the patera with the seated Athena and another with a bust of the infant Hercules strangling the serpents are of meritorious execution, but betray their Roman origin by the exuberance of the ornament and the exaggerated relief; the central subject too is treated without relation to its background. They exhibit the Roman lack of the sense of proportion and of appropriate use of ornament which violated all the canons of Greek taste. Greek

TWO SILVER CUPS FROM BOSCOREALE. WITH FIGURES OF SKELETONS

(LOUVRE)

SILVER VASES FROM HILDESHEIM
(BERLIN MUSEUM)

ornament was never exaggerated, and was only employed as an integral part of the composition, or with some special purpose, but the Romans allowed it to run riot, and thereby marred the undeniable excellence of much of their decorative work, in which in other respects they may be admitted to stand on a really high level.

Before leaving the subject we may mention that the British Museum also possesses a silver treasure, which, though inferior in quantity and quality to those already described, is interesting as representing a complete table-service or *ministerium*. There are thirty-six pieces in all, some showing great taste and beauty of workmanship, though few of them have any decoration beyond ornamental patterns or foliage. This collection, known as the Treasure of Chaourse, was found in 1883 near Montcornet in the Department of Aisne, France, and its date can be fixed by finds of coins of the third century after Christ. Among the individual pieces may be noted a pepper-pot in the form of a squatting slave, the head pierced with holes; the other pieces are mostly bowls and large circular plates or dishes. In the same museum are a fine bowl from Chatuzange (Department of Drôme) with a medallion of the three Graces, and two paterae from Èze, near Nice. The latter have designs in relief, roughly beaten up in repoussé and finished by chasing; the subject is that of Hercules conducted by deities in chariots and flying Victories to Olympus. It is interesting to note that the museum possesses two exact duplicates in terra-cotta of these bowls, showing that the design was a favourite one, and was repeated in the cheaper material for those to whom silver plate was too great a luxury. This is a feature which, as we shall see, largely accounts for the character of most of the ornamented Roman pottery.

CHAPTER VII

ROMAN FICTILE WORK

Use of terra-cotta at Rome—Mural reliefs—Sculpture in terra-cotta—Roman lamps—Roman pottery—'Samian' ware—Technical methods—Shapes—Arretine ware—Origin—Subjects—Style.

I. ROMAN TERRA-COTTA WORK

THE Romans, as we have seen, were above all things utilitarian, and therefore we do not expect from them the same high achievements in the sphere of the decorative arts as we have learned to expect from the Greeks. The latter race not only made all their humblest implements and utensils things of beauty, but produced in the commoner materials things of artistic merit, rivalling the products of the higher arts, and not of necessity serving any useful purpose. Their statuettes in bronze and terra-cotta, their Tanagra figures, and, above all, their painted vases, are evidence of this. But at Rome we look almost in vain for any equivalent works of art. Nevertheless we must not regard the pottery, the statuettes, or the metal-work as altogether lacking in artistic merit and interest. They borrowed much, of course, from the Greeks, and much also from the Etruscans; but in one branch, at least, they struck out a line of their own with considerable success.

In the present chapter we propose to consider briefly what Roman art achieved in the sphere of the potter's industry, which manifests itself in three varieties of artistic products: terra-cotta work in relief, lamps, and pottery.

The Romans, following the Etruscans (as noted in our Introductory chapter), employed terra-cotta to a large extent in architectural decoration, both in their houses and their public buildings. This we may see well illustrated at Pompeii, where the remains of architectural ornament in terra-cotta—reliefs, tiles, and cornices

TERRACOTTA PANEL; THE CURETES PROTECTING THE INFANT ZEUS
(BRITISH MUSEUM)

—have supplied a German scholar with materials to fill a large and handsome folio volume. But the tiles, which played so large a part in the construction of all their buildings, are for the most part purely constructive, and manufactured with a view to use alone. We have, however, a large series of slabs with designs in relief which appear to be purely ornamental, and which were fixed on the walls in the form of friezes or panels, or as hanging borders to the cornices. It is a repetition of an earlier idea, seen in the temple at Civita Lavinia (p. 7). Cicero, in writing to his friend Atticus, refers to these when he says, 'I hand over to you the bas-reliefs (*typos*) which I propose to insert in the cornice of my little *atrium*.'[1]

These slabs are usually about 18 inches by 9 to 12 inches in size, and have nearly all been found in Rome or the neighbourhood. The British Museum has a series of about a hundred and sixty, collected at Rome by Mr. Charles Towneley, and there is an equally fine collection in the Louvre. They were evidently cast in moulds, as many subjects are repeated over and over again, or at least with only slight differences; many of them bear traces of colouring in *tempera*, more or less well preserved. Some have backgrounds of bright blue or other tints, but in most cases the colouring is confined to such details as the hair. Some few reliefs have been entirely modelled, and these exhibit considerable artistic feeling and freedom.

The figures on these reliefs are either arranged in narrow friezes, usually with rows of busts or figures of Cupids, or square metope-like panels with two or three figures on a large scale. Sometimes the design is composed in such a way that the whole surface except the figures is occupied by conventional patterns of scroll-work or foliage; in other cases large flat surfaces are left, in the manner of Hellenistic art. The style is in general bold and vigorous, and though essentially architectural, not devoid of dignity and beauty; but it often tends to become conventional and even archaistic. The majority probably belong to the Augustan age.

The subjects cover a very wide field, and many are doubtless copies of well-known works of art; some even seem to go back to prototypes of the fifth century, as in the case of a figure of a girl in the British Museum, whose face and drapery are treated in the style of the Parthenon frieze, or the figure of a Cupid conceived as a full-

[1] *Epist. ad Att.* i. 10.

grown youth, in the Louvre. But the majority undoubtedly owe their origin to the sculptured reliefs of the Augustan period. This is a feature which we shall meet with again in the course of the present chapter, but it is best illustrated in the reliefs under consideration.

In some cases the prototypes may be traced in the reliefs of a pastoral and architectural character which are now associated with the Augustan age (see p. 52), and which find their reflection rather in the general conception and method of treatment than in individual types. To the later Augustan period belong the so-called 'New Attic' reliefs (see p. 48), in which a certain archaising tendency is the principal feature, and in which certain classified types appear repeated in various forms. Among these are Maenads in frenzy or dancing in various attitudes, and figures representing the four Seasons. All these types we find constantly copied and repeated in the terra-cotta reliefs.

Others again reflect the character of their time rather than the spirit of Greek art, such as the representations of Egyptian landscapes, in which Pygmies, ibises, hippopotami, and the River Nile are introduced (cf. the mosaic, Plate XLIV.); scenes from the circus or gladiatorial arena; or quasi-historical subjects, such as triumphs over barbarian enemies. A certain number are purely decorative, with a single figure, often treated in archaistic style, surrounded by elaborate scrolls or foliage, or with a group of priestesses before an incense-burner or lamp-stand. Among the favourite mythological subjects are Victory sacrificing a bull; the infant Jupiter in the cave on Mount Ida, protected by the Curetes (Plate LVIII.); or scenes from the labours of Hercules and Theseus or the Tale of Troy. But the majority of these represent Bacchus and his attendant Satyrs and Maenads (Plate LIX.), variously occupied, the latter frequently gathering or pressing grapes.

The use of terra-cotta in sculpture at Rome can be traced back to very early times, and was, as we have already seen, largely due to Etruscan influence. But it also seems to have been due to the prevalent feeling in Republican Rome against anything savouring of luxury, a feeling which Pliny, writing in the time of Nero, often recalls with regret. There was a tradition that Numa had laid down rigid rules regarding the size and material of statues, whether of men or deities. However this may be, there are not infrequent references

TERRACOTTA PANEL: THE INFANT BACCHUS
(BRITISH MUSEUM)

in literature to the use of terra-cotta for this purpose, even down to the days of the empire. The architect Vitruvius alludes to the favourite Etruscan fashion of ornamenting the pediments of temples with terra-cotta figures (such as have been found at Luni for instance, see p. 7), and mentions examples then existing in the temple of Ceres in the Circus Maximus, and at Pompeii. The former we know to have been made in 493 B.C. by Gorgasus and Damophilus (pp.7, 19), but they were probably more Greek than Etruscan in style, like the terra-cotta work of Civita Lavinia and other examples referred to in our opening chapter. Allusion has also been made (*ibid.*) to the famous chariot on the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter and the statue of the god himself, both the work of Etruscan artists. This general use of terra-cotta has also been explained as due to the absence of white marble in Italy, none being discovered until Imperial times. But the sack of Corinth brought about a great change by introducing the Romans to the wealth of Greek masterpieces in marble, and sculpture in terra-cotta soon sank into contempt and neglect. Even fifty years before this Cato had in vain protested against the invading flood of luxury and the new taste in sculpture. 'Hateful, believe me,' he says, 'are the statues brought from Syracuse into this city. Already do I hear too many who praise and admire the ornaments of Corinth and Athens, and deride the terra-cotta antefixes of the Roman gods. For my part I prefer these propitious gods, and hope they will continue to be so, if we allow them to remain in their places.'[1]

Few statues of any size still exist in this material, but there is an interesting group in the British Museum, representing Bacchus and the Muses, which is supposed to have decorated a garden at Rome. There are also some good specimens at Pompeii, which formed the cult-statues in the temple of Aesculapius. Sculptors' clay models were often thought highly of in antiquity.

Statuettes (*sigilla*) similar to those found in Greece, but far inferior in artistic merit, are often found in Southern Italy, especially at Pompeii. They were either votive objects, or were placed in the domestic shrines as Lares and Penates, or again were used for toys and presents. In the latter capacity they were largely distributed at the Sigillaria, which formed part of the winter festival of the Saturnalia, and answered in this respect to the modern Christmas

[1] Livy, xxxiv. 4.

souvenir or French *étrennes*. They are, as a rule, poor in style and unpleasing in appearance, and are only redeemed from insignificance by a taste for portraiture and by the interest which attaches to the reproduction of motives drawn from contemporary life. Of a curious class of statuettes manufactured in Gaul we propose to speak in the following chapter.

II. ROMAN LAMPS

A few words must be devoted to this subject, because, although the artistic merits of Roman terra-cotta lamps are not very great, yet they show, like the pottery, the tendency of the age to reproduce great works of art in a humble way. The oldest lamps found in Rome go back to the third century B.C., but these have no decoration, and the shapes are quite different from the ordinary Roman types. Under the Empire the use of lamps had become general at Rome, and they played an important part in house-decoration and furniture, as well as in public and funeral ceremonies. The more elaborate examples are of bronze, and these are often effectively modelled in the form of an animal or a head, or are of simple form with heads and other decorations attached to the handle. This type was imitated in terra-cotta to some extent, and we find lamps in the form of ships, bulls' heads, Satyr's or negro's heads, human feet, and so on.

But the normal Roman clay lamp consisted of four parts, the reservoir or body, containing the oil, the flat circular top, the nozzle in which the wick was inserted, and the handle: the presence of the last-named was not, however, essential. The form of the nozzle is the chief criterion for ascertaining their date, it having been observed that this shows a systematic development, while certain forms are exclusively associated with certain potters' names. The only part which as a rule received any decoration was the flat top, the circular form of which presented obvious facilities for the addition of a design in relief. In some forms it was customary to ornament the handle with a triangular or crescent-shaped projection on which an additional design was placed, usually of a quite simple character, such as a leaf, a crescent, or at most a bust of a deity.

The British Museum possesses one very remarkable lamp

ROMAN LAMPS
(BRITISH MUSEUM)

modelled in the form of a boat, about 20 inches long, with numerous holes for wicks along the sides (Plate LX.). It was dredged up out of the sea near Pozzuoli, and is interesting for its association with the cult of the Egyptian deities, Isis and Sarapis, as shown both by an inscription and by the fact that it is decorated with figures of those two deities. The introduction of these pseudo-Egyptian cults was characteristic of Rome in the later Republican and early Imperial period (p. 84), and there was a temple of these deities at Puteoli to which this lamp may have belonged. Apuleius, the author of the *Golden Ass*, tells us that lamps in the form of a ship were used in the worship of Isis.

Turning now to the ordinary Roman lamps and their decoration, we note that ornamentation with subjects hardly begins before the first century B.C., at least in Italy. Some early lamps found at Carthage have simple designs, as have others from Greek sites. Throughout, the number of figures is generally small, in accordance with the principle of ancient art that a small space should not be crowded with minute figures and details. The majority of lamps have only one figure, and few have more than two or three.

It may be imagined that the lamp-maker sought to gratify the taste of his customers by ornamenting his ware with familiar subjects. Purchasers of terra-cotta lamps were generally persons of inferior condition, and many of the themes are mere popularizations of well-known myths, or even works of art, such as the various Venus types, or the type of the frenzied Maenad created by Scopas and often depicted in the Augustan reliefs. The types of Victory and Fortune are reflections of statuettes of the period, and are repeated in many bronze examples. There are also occasional references to history or literature, such as the story of Mettius Curtius leaping into the gulf to save Rome, the Tityrus of Virgil's *First Eclogue*, or Diogenes in his tub. There are also occasional references to history or literature. In Rome the stage exerted little influence, and subjects are rarely taken from the drama; but the games of the circus and gladiatorial contests found a ready market. The subjects on the lamps, in fact, represent not so much the great masterpieces of art, as do coins and gems, but like the Greek vases, the popular art of the day. They may be compared with the illustrations of the popular journals and magazines of our own time. On the whole they are of great

value to us as illustrating Roman life and religion, just as subsequently those on the Christian lamps are of inestimable importance for the light they throw on the early ages of our own faith.

III.—ROMAN POTTERY

Roman vases are far inferior in nearly all respects to Greek; the shapes are less artistic, and the decoration, though not without merits of its own, bears the same relation to that of Greek vases that all Roman art does to Greek art. Strictly speaking, a comparison of the two is not possible, as in the one case we are dealing with painted vases, in the other with ornamentation in relief. But from the point of view of style they are still commensurable. Roman vases, in a word, require only the skill of the potter for their completion, and the processes employed are largely mechanical, whereas Greek vases called in the aid of a higher branch of industry, and one which gave greater scope for artistic achievements—that of painting.

Not the least remarkable feature of the art of the Hellenistic age in Greece is the great impetus given to working in metal, and it was this as much as anything which ousted the old passion for painted vases, and brought in its place a new passion for chased vases in metal. The metal-workers of Alexandria and the famous chasers of Asia Minor, whose names are recorded by Pliny, became renowned throughout the Greek world, and their products set the fashion everywhere.

But in spite of increased habits of luxury, it is obvious that the replacing of earthenware by metal could never have become universal. For ordinary household purposes pottery was still essential, and there were, of course, many to whom services of plate and gold or silver vessels for use or ornament were a luxury unattainable. Hence it was natural that there should arise a general tendency to imitate in the humbler material what was beyond reach in the more precious, and it became the fashion not only to adorn vessels of clay with reliefs in imitation of the chased vases, but even to cover them with some preparation to give them the appearance of metal. We have an excellent illustration of this practice in the silver bowls from Èze and their terra-cotta replicas in the British Museum (p. 133).

The region in which the pottery with moulded decoration enjoyed most popularity was Southern Italy, more particularly Campania, which district had at this time (3rd-2nd century B.C.) close artistic relations with Etruria, where a similar method of decoration had long been familiar (p. 13). Hence it is not surprising that we find springing up in the Etruscan region of Italy an important centre of pottery manufacture which proved itself to be the heir of more than one line of artistic traditions. This was Arretium, the modern Arezzo. We may consider that the era of Roman pottery begins with the establishment here, within the area of Roman domination, of a great manufactory in the hands of Roman masters and workmen. The time when this pottery-centre sprang into importance was the second century B.C.; and thenceforward, for many years, its fabrics filled the markets and set the fashion to the rest of the Roman world.

The dominant characteristic of this new development was the brilliant red glaze with which the whole vase was covered, of which in its technical aspect we shall have more to say presently. It is of quite a different character from the red glaze of the Greek vases, the latter being inherent in the clay, whereas this was produced by special processes and applied externally. It is used for almost all the finer classes of Roman pottery, Italian and provincial, and also for plain vases without ornament. Pottery of this type is now called by German scholars *terra sigillata*, a term applied to clay suited for receiving stamps (*sigilla*) or impressions; but in days gone by, a misapprehension of passages in ancient literature induced the learned world to apply to it the term 'Samian.' Although for many years the Arretine pottery has been rightly recognized and so denominated, the term 'Samian' is still current coin for the provincial red ware with reliefs, found in Gaul, Germany, and Britain. Yet if there is any class to which it can be more correctly applied than another, it is the earlier Italian pottery. It is still adopted in this country, even by archaeologists, as a conventional term, but now that we know that almost every piece of 'Samian' ware found in Britain came from a Gaulish pottery, the use of that term requires reconsidering.

We propose in the present chapter to discuss the Arretine pottery only, as the typical product of this branch of Roman art; the provincial wares will find their place in the following chapter.

Meanwhile it may be of interest to point out that the reputation of Samos for pottery of which ancient writers speak probably belongs to a time antecedent to that of the Roman wares, when similar pottery with relief-decoration was being made in Asia Minor and the neighbouring islands. If Pliny tells us that 'Samian ware is commended even at the present day for dinner services,' he only means that the pottery of his day is the Roman representative of the older fashion. In short, the former popularity of the ware of Samos brought the name into use as a generic term for table-ware, just as we nowadays speak of 'china' which has travelled no further than from Worcester or Dresden.

Roman pottery, regarded in its purely technical aspect, is in some ways better known to us than Greek, owing to extensive discoveries of furnaces and potters' apparatus in Western Europe. But the Romans, from their preference for metal vases, did not hold the art in very high estimation, and their vases, mostly produced by slaves and freedmen, are not as a rule fine or beautiful, but only adapted to the necessities of life. We do not, for instance, find that they were set apart for funerary use or as votive offerings to the gods. Hence they are for the most part technically inferior to Greek vases, and the clay is often coarse. But in Italy careful attention was generally paid to the preparation and mixing of the clay, at least in the glazed red wares.

The red glaze, at one time thought to be natural, produced like the Greek glaze in the baking, is now generally held to be artificial. It must be distinguished from the mere polishing of the surface, which passes for glaze in many of the Roman lamps and inferior classes of pottery. It is of so bright a red as to resemble coral, and serves to enhance the ground colour where a modern glaze would only conceal its imperfect tone; and it is so fine and so carefully laid on that it does not interfere with any outlines or details, thus again evincing its superiority to modern glaze. It seems to have been applied not with the brush, but by dipping in the liquid, and this was, of course, subsequent to the completion of the decoration. Its character seems to be due to substances of an alkaline nature, though the colour is produced by the iron oxides inherent in the clay.

The Romans, like the Greeks, made their vases on the wheel;

MOULDS FOR ARRETINE VASES
(BRITISH MUSEUM)

but in order to produce the decoration in relief an additional process was necessary, namely the use of a mould. This method entailed three distinct stages, of which the first alone required artistic capacity, that of making the stamps from which the designs were impressed in the mould. The other two were purely mechanical, calling only for technical skill, *i.e.* the making of the mould and the pressing the clay into it while the interior of the vase was modelled with the hand on the wheel.

Of the stamps some examples in clay have been preserved, including one or two admirable designs for Arretine ware. There is one in the British Museum with an exquisitely modelled figure of Spring, resembling those on the mural reliefs (p.136), and reproduced on a fine Arretine vase also in that museum (p. 148). Many examples of moulds also exist, and the greater part of the collection of Arretine vases in the British Museum is in this form (see Plate LXI.), with the designs in intaglio ; but plaster casts placed by the side of each reproduce the appearance of the completed vase.

Other methods of decoration were practised in Roman pottery, but as they belong almost exclusively to provincial fabrics, we reserve an account of them for the next chapter. Once moulded, and the foot and rim added, the vases had only to be coated with their red glaze and were then complete. Handles were also attached after moulding, but these rarely occur in Roman pottery, being perhaps omitted on account of the difficulty of packing them for export. The vases were then sent to the furnace.

Vessels of earthenware were extensively used by the Romans in the early days of the Republic for all purposes of domestic life, and later writers often contrast their use with that of the costly vases of precious metal then customary. A Curius might boast of preferring his earthenware service to Samnite gold, but in the time of Domitian it was considered a reproach to dine off the former material. As with the Greeks, the principal use of the larger vases was for the transport or storage of liquids, and for these purposes we find several sizes of casks or jars employed, from the *dolium* or tub down to the *amphora* and *cadus*. The *olla* or jar with spherical body was another kind frequently mentioned, of which examples are found even among the ornamented wares. It was primarily a cooking-pot, but was also used for other purposes, such as hoarding money, and even as a cinerary urn in tombs. Of smaller vases for holding liquids, the

principal were the *urceus* or jug, and the *ampulla* and *lagena* which were both varieties of wine- or oil-flasks.

Of cups and bowls for drinking the Romans had almost as large a variety as the Greeks, and the majority of the vases ornamented with reliefs come under this category; at present, however, no successful attempts have been made at identifying their various names. The *calix* corresponded to the Greek *kylix*, and was probably similar in form—a shallow bowl—but without handles. The other recorded names are mostly borrowed from the Greek. Dishes were called *lanx*, *patina*, or *catinus*, and the ladle used in filling cups from a larger vessel was known by its Greek name *cyathus*. The *trulla* or saucepan, curiously enough, is a form often found among the ornamented examples, but more commonly in bronze and silver than in clay; its flat handle lent itself to decoration in relief.

Pliny tells us that the old pre-eminence of Samian ware was kept up by Arretium in Italy (a statement which in itself is sufficient to show that the term belonged to a fabric of earlier date), and this statement is borne out, not only by what we gather from other writers, but still more by modern discoveries. There were, it is true, other centres of the fabric in Italy, notably Mutina (Modena), Cumae, and other towns in Campania and Northern Italy, while pottery has been found at Pozzuoli which is similar in character and almost equal in merit to that of Arretium, and probably indicates a branch establishment of that industry there or at the neighbouring Cumae. But that Arretium surpassed all the others in importance there can be no doubt, and its products were exported not only to Rome and all parts of Italy, but also into Gaul, Germany, and most countries bordering on the Mediterranean.

In modern times this ware was actually known as early as the thirteenth century, and discoveries are recorded about the end of the fifteenth in the presence of Giovanni de' Medici, afterwards Leo x. In 1779 potteries were unearthed at Cincelli, with remains of potters' wheels and other utensils. Large quantities have been brought to light in Arezzo and elsewhere during the nineteenth century, and a long list of potters' names, stamped on the vases, is now on record.

The Arretine ware, which must be regarded as *the* Roman pottery

par excellence, is distinguished by the following characteristics: (1) the fine local red clay, carefully worked up and baked very hard to a rich red, like coral or sealing-wax; (2) the fine red glaze; (3) the great variety of forms employed, usually showing the influence of metal-work; (4) the almost invariable occurrence of stamps with potters' names. The duration of this pottery seems to have been from about 150 B.C. to the end of the first century of the empire, at which time pottery in Italy had reached a very degenerate stage, and the height of its success and popularity was during the first century B.C.

The forms of the vases are, as we have noted, almost exclusively derived from metal-work; but, as compared with Hellenistic pottery, they are marked by great simplicity, and are almost a return to archaism. The vases are mostly cups and bowls of small size, one of the largest known—a *crater* or mixing-bowl in the British Museum (see Fig. 9)—being only $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. Most of the bowls are of cylindrical or hemispherical form, and handles are almost invariably wanting, as is usually the case in Roman pottery. Yet in spite of their elegance the shapes rarely compare favourably with those in vogue at the best period in Greece, such as the *kylix* or the 'Nolan' *amphora*.[1] On the other hand, they have the merit of being new inventions.

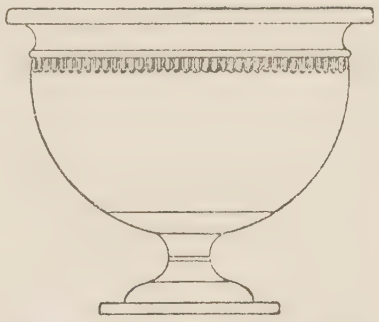


FIG. 9.—TYPICAL ARRETINE VASE (CRATER)

For their prototypes we must seek in more than one direction. Alexandria was one of the principal centres for the Hellenistic vases of chased metal; but apart from the forms, it is doubtful whether the toreutic art of that city exercised much influence on the potters of Arretium. Certainly, for their decoration and subjects, they drew their inspiration rather from the 'New Attic' reliefs or from the schools of metal-work in Asia Minor. It must also be remembered that the second century was the era of collecting works of art in Greece and Asia Minor and conveying them to Rome, and that the examples which were most prominently before the eyes of Italian artists under the later Republic were just these

[1] Cf. for these, *Art of the Greeks*, p. 164.

products of Greece and Asia Minor in the Hellenistic age. Moreover, the Rhodian and Pergamene schools of art were still living when that of Alexandria was dying out under the later Ptolemies. The mixed style of art of the first century B.C. is essentially Roman, produced under the influence of the Greek works then collected in Rome, and does not extend beyond Italy.

But we can also trace the line of descent in the ceramic art itself. In the third century, painted pottery had died out in Greece and was rapidly dying out in Italy, and its place was already being taken by imitations of metal with moulded designs in relief, to which allusion has already been made. In Greece, these took the form of hemispherical bowls with subjects from Homer and the tragedians, covered with a metallic glaze in order to produce rough imitations of the more precious material. It is not certainly known where these were manufactured, but there is some ground for supposing that they may represent what was known as 'Samian' ware. Similar fabrics were made in Campania, especially at Cales, which bear the name of Roman potters, and are distinguished from the Greek by being usually shallower in form (*i.e.* paterae or bowls for libation), and having consequently designs on the interior instead of the exterior. Another variety, more closely resembling the Greek fabric, was made at Mevania in Umbria and at Ocriculum; Roman potters' names are found on these, and the decoration, consisting partly of figure subjects, partly of purely ornamental motives, both in its style and in choice of themes suggests a close affinity with that of Arretine ware. All these are 'black-glazed' wares, dating from the third century, and it is interesting to note that the earliest specimens found at Arretium are also black, not of the familiar red.

It is thus evident that a careful study of the later Greek and Graeco-Italian pottery is necessary for a correct estimate of the Roman. As in the case of other arts, it proves that the Romans were largely receptive, at best only developing what they received. The development began with the importation and imitation of the black ware with reliefs, and subsequently in Italy (as also in Greece) the search for new forms, colouring, and decoration brought about the inevitable degeneration of technique.

We must now devote some space to the consideration of the

Arretine vases in regard to their decoration, the choice of subjects, and their place in artistic development. Two classes have been distinguished: an earlier in which friezes of figures without much ornament are the rule, and a later, in which a large use of ornament is the most conspicuous feature. In each class one artist stands pre-eminent as designer and modeller, in the former, Marcus Perennius, in the latter, Publius Cornelius, both of whom employed a large number of slaves to fashion the vases for which they designed the decoration.

In the subjects there is considerable variety, not only of theme, but also of method and style, especially in the former class, many of which are derived from mythology. The name of Tigranes, one of Perennius' slaves, occurs on a fine vase in the Louvre, with the apotheosis of Hercules, and that of Cerdo on another at Arezzo with the nine Muses. Three moulds for vases in the British Museum have the combined names of Perennius and Tigranes, but the subjects are in no way remarkable except for their graceful style (see Plate LXI.). One of the finest vases in existence is in the Boston Museum, and is signed by Perennius and the slave Bargates. The subject is the fall of Phaethon, who lies shattered in pieces on the ground, with his mother, Tethys, coming to the rescue. Zeus with his thunderbolts and Artemis with her bow have brought about his downfall. Helios (the Sun) is seen collecting his terrified steeds; and the rest of the design is occupied with the transformation of the Heliades or Daughters of the Sun into poplars. Bacchic scenes, including processions, dances of Maenads, sacrifices; Cupids, Victories, Muses, and Seasons; and banqueting or hunting scenes, form the chief subjects of the potter's repertory.

In the vases of Publius Cornelius and those of kindred style, which are chiefly remarkable for their love of ornament, the figures are little more than decorative, or of a sculpturesque character. Naturalistic wreaths, which recall in their treatment those we have already noted as characteristic of Roman decorative sculpture (p. 55), are very frequent in this class. There is throughout a remarkable variety, not only of subjects, but of ornaments and methods of composition, features in which the Greek vase-painters at all periods allowed themselves little freedom. The ornamentation which usually borders the figures above and below, or occupies the whole surface available for decoration, comprises conventional

wreaths or festoons, scrolls of foliage, and the 'egg-and-tongue' pattern. A favourite device is the use of columns with spiral shafts, often surmounted by masks. But the chief feature of the ornament is its naturalistic character; only in its general effect is it purely decorative.

In the figures derived from the 'New-Attic' reliefs and similar sources, such as metal-work, the copyist usually displays a tendency to archaism; the attitudes are graceful but somewhat affected. Throughout, we may observe a remarkable parallelism with the terra-cotta mural reliefs (p. 136), whether in the archaising style, the decorative treatment of figures, or the choice of subjects, such as dancing Maenads or priestesses, Victory slaying a bull, or the figures of Seasons. Of the last-named a fine instance is the beautiful *crater* from Capua in the British Museum (Plate LXII.), the figures on which are most delicately modelled. The vase has no potter's stamp, and was probably made at Cumae or somewhere in the neighbourhood, not at Arretium. The figures, typifying the four Seasons, are all well-known types in Hellenistic art, and are also found on the mural reliefs. Spring holds a basket of flowers and fruit; Summer carries a wreath and flowers; Autumn has a basket of fruit and plays with a kid; and Winter, closely wrapped in her mantle, carries game in the shape of a hare, a boar, and a bird.

Other vases draw their inspiration more from the so-called Hellenistic reliefs of naturalistic style, which are now with more probability assigned to the Augustan period (see p. 53). Here the figures are not conventional but free and vigorous, and in some cases realistic landscapes and elaborate compositions are attempted. A mould in the British Museum with the stamp of Perennius not only gives a hunting scene of this class, but one which can be definitely characterised as a historic event. It represents Alexander the Great at a lion-hunt, and the king is just slaying a lion, which stands over a man whom it has felled, while Krateros advances to his assistance with an axe. (Plate LXI.)

Others again show a close relationship to the metal vases of the period, such as the Bosco Reale drinking-cups, both in choice of subjects and in methods of decoration. Of this class there are two fine examples in the museum at Mainz, the work of C. Ateius, a potter of the early years of the first century of our era. He appears not to have worked at Arezzo, but in the north of Italy or south

ARRETINE VASE FROM CAPUA WITH FIGURES OF SEASONS

(BRITISH MUSEUM)

of Gaul, though the style of his work differs little if at all from that of the Arretine potters, and he is certainly their equal in artistic capacity. Both vases are of the *crater* form, but one is of superior merit to the other. In the latter, the design consists of a band of scroll-work with foliage and flowers, interspersed with small birds and insects such as dragonflies and grasshoppers. The other vase represents cranes hunting for insects among water-plants, the composition being extremely life-like and naturalistic in treatment, recalling the Bosco Reale drinking-cups with similar subjects. Both vases are among the best examples of the imitation of metal-work in Roman pottery.

Thus the Arretine vases, as a recent writer has pointed out, are an example of the tendency, so constantly occurring in classic and especially in Roman art, to imitate one material in another.[1] The same writer regards them as reproductions of contemporary originals illustrating the eclectic style of the Augustan period. The epoch of 'impressionism' or artistic illusionism which followed is completely unrepresented in the Arretine and all other Roman pottery, and we may therefore assume that when it came into vogue the art of the Arretine potter had had its day. The origin of the style of the provincial wares is uncertain, but it is not derived from any contemporary phase of Roman art.

The Arretine ware degenerated steadily during the first century of the empire, and by the close of that period had practically come to an end. Henceforward we only find decorated vases produced in provincial centres, and even exported thence into Italy. The rapid rise of these provincial fabrics and the reputation they so speedily acquired form one of the most striking features in the history of Roman pottery. But with these new developments we propose to deal in a future chapter.

[1] Dragendorff in *Bonner Jahrbücher,* ciii. p. 103.

CHAPTER VIII

ROMAN ART IN THE PROVINCES

Art in Asia Minor and the East—The Tropaeum Trajani—Trier and the Mosel district—Native art of Gaul—Egyptian and Greek influences—Monuments of Southern Gaul—Bronze and terra-cotta statuettes—Gaulish pottery—The Romans in Britain—Houses and towns—Native and imported sculptures—Romano-British pottery.

THE extension of the Roman empire over all parts of the known ancient world naturally led to the introduction of some form of art into the various countries which fell under its sway. Military and civil settlements grew into towns, and the aid of architecture was called in to produce temples, public buildings, monuments, bridges and aqueducts; rich provincial governors and officials carried with them statuary to deck their houses; and the minor arts of painting and mosaic-work, of metal-work in silver or bronze, and of working in clay also found their place. Hence it is often to the provinces that we have to turn for some of the best and most typical specimens of Roman art. The amphitheatres of Verona and Arles, the gateways of Verona and Trier, and the great palace of Diocletian at Spalato (Chapter II.) are examples of Roman architecture which must always receive consideration in any text-book on the subject. Some of the best-known specimens of Roman sculpture have been found on provincial soil, such as the Venus of Arles, or the Vaison Diadumenos in the British Museum. That institution also possesses several bronze statuettes, which, even if they are provincial work, go back to good Greek originals; but they are most probably the work of skilled Graeco-Roman artists, as good as anything that Rome herself produced. And in the humbler sphere of the decorative arts we meet with the same results. Ornamental metal-work has been found in Gaul and Germany of equal merit to anything known from Italy, and the

finest Arretine pottery found its way even to Spain, Germany, and Britain. Thus it is not always easy to discuss Roman provincial art altogether as a thing of itself distinct.

But we shall see that in different parts of the empire the currents of art and culture took different directions. The present chapter is devoted mainly to a consideration of the provincial art of Gaul and Britain, the former country chosen not only as a typical one, but from the many-sided aspects of its art, the latter as naturally having a special interest for English readers. But we must first glance at some other parts of the empire and observe the characteristics which their art exemplifies. It will be seen that the influence of Rome is not always the sole channel of artistic development, but that other quite independent streams of tendencies flow concurrently.

In the East, and more especially in Asia Minor and Syria, the recent researches of Professor Strzygowski, to which allusion has already been made, have shown that a continuous and independent development may be traced from Hellenistic times to the Christian or Byzantine period, unaffected by Rome.[1] He traces it, for example, in the early Christian basilicae of Northern Syria (see p. 35), which show how Christianity brought the Oriental element into Hellenistic culture, in a style which has nothing in common with the architecture of Rome. Another point on which he insists is that the 'continuous' method (see p. 72) is derived from Egypt and Greece; and again, that the 'illusionist' technique cannot be a mere importation from Rome, because it can be seen in the Fayûm portraits (p. 91). Lastly, the class of fourth-century sarcophagi known as the 'Sidamara' group (p. 86) appear from their style to be localized on the coast of the Bosporus; and though examples are found in Italy, these are only exportations. The whole group shows a transition from classical to Byzantine types equally unaffected by Rome.

His object, then, is to decide whether we can admit that Rome is the dominant power in art either during the first three centuries or from the fourth century onwards. Was it thence that style and types were spread, and can we rightly speak of Roman Imperial or Roman Christian art? In short, he pleads for Asia Minor as the one connecting link between Hellenistic and Byzantine art. To the average observer these theories will at first sight appear somewhat

[1] See a résumé of his views by W. E. Crum in *Classical Review*, 1901, p. 232; also Mrs. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, p. 12 ff.

startling, especially if he comes to them fresh from the study of Wickhoff and his disciples. But a closer examination must surely show that Strzygowski proves no more than what he intends to prove, and that his theories do not really affect the question of Roman art as a national art. If we encounter in Central Europe works of art which have always been acknowledged to owe their origin to pre-Roman or non-Roman influences, we shall hardly be surprised to find similar features in the art of the East. All that we are required to accept is that there was a school of art in Asia Minor, local and independent of Rome; and Strzygowski's real merit is to have discovered the artistic power of the East, preserving native Greek traditions and finally enshrining them in Byzantine art.

Coming further westward, we encounter a monument which has recently been the subject of an acute controversy on the art of the Augustan and Trajanian epochs, the military trophy at Adamklissi in Roumania, known as the *Tropaeum Trajani* (Plate LXIII.). Though in itself of no special artistic merit, being merely the work of the local soldiery, it is important in many ways for the history of art, owing to the uncertainty about its date. The late Professor Furtwaengler maintained that the trophy was set up to commemorate the victories of Crassus over the Germans in 29 B.C., and that it was a monument of 'old Italian' art, free from Greek influence, the inscription referring to Trajan being a later insertion. He speaks of the 'hard' Roman style introduced by the conquering soldiers from North Italy, as compared with the softer and more Hellenized style of the Flavian epoch. His chief opponent, Professor Studniczka, maintains that the structure is not older than the inscription, and considers that the architectural details, the style of the reliefs, and the ornamentation all find close parallels in the art of Hadrian's or Trajan's reigns, while there are also indications of the revival of Hellenistic classicism, which came in at the end of the first century. The question can hardly as yet be considered solved, one way or the other; though Dr. Dragendorff may be nearest to the truth in supposing that in this remote district the 'hard' Augustan style survived to the end of the century; this would also account for the differences which have been observed in the soldiers' costumes from those of Trajan's column. In any case, the monument remains an interesting example of provincial art, whether the influences at work upon it came from Rome or from the East.

THE MONUMENT OF ADAMKLISSI OR TROPAEUM TRAJANI (RESTORED)

In Germany again, we have at Trier and in the surrounding district an interesting group of monuments in which more than one phase of provincial art is exemplified. The Porta Nigra and the Basilica in that city have already been cited as examples of Roman provincial architecture (pp. 35, 41), as have the mosaics of Monnus and of Nennig (p. 110) as specimens of that industry. But the influences at work in this district are better exemplified in a striking group of monuments, at the head of which stands that of Igel, a few miles west of Trier.

This remarkable structure is in the form of a tower, seventy-two feet high, built of the local red sandstone, with a pyramidal roof curved in ogee form and surmounted by a capital. It is adorned throughout with sculptures, and bears an inscription,[1] showing that it commemorates the family of one Secundinus. The principal subjects are on the second tier, on the front of which are three members of the family in civilian costume, with busts of three others above; at the back are the signs of the Zodiac, and Hercules ascending in a car to Olympus; at the angles, four wind-gods. The figures on the sides are defaced. Below is an interesting representation of merchandise being conveyed on a river, with the river-god looking on; on the opposite side, a curtained room, in which a man is reading from a roll to an audience; on the other two sides, banquet and domestic scenes, and mule-carts conveying goods along roads. On the pediment above are the sun-god in his chariot and Bacchus, and the capital was once surmounted by a figure of Victory on a globe. The date of this monument is placed about the middle of the second century.

Of the same character, as regards their style and subjects, are a series of sculptured monuments found at Neumagen on the Mosel, now in the museum at Trier (Plate LXIV.). On these are carved such subjects as the return of a hunter, a toilet scene, a school scene, and a circus; a land-owner receiving payment of rents from tenants; and ships laden with casks of Moselle wine wrapped in straw. The locality was famous for its wine, as at the present day, and also for its market of wood and corn. Some of the monuments resemble the Igel tower in form. All have been richly painted, and vary in the materials of which they are composed, and in the richness of their decoration, which deteriorates in the later examples. They are

[1] *Corpus Inscr. Lat.*, xiii. 4206.

assigned to the period 100-250 A.D., and represent the costume and mode of life of the people of the district with striking veracity.

These monuments may be regarded as typical of Gallo-Belgic art, Trier (Augusta Trevirorum) having formed part of the district of Gallia Belgica. Recent writers attribute them to sculptors trained in the schools of Southern Gaul, which, as we shall see later, inherited the principles of Greek art. This region, in fact, is not dependent for its artistic training on Rome or any influences from Italy, but has derived its inspiration direct from Greece, or rather Alexandria, probably by way of Marseilles and the Rhone and Rhine, possibly also by Macedonia and the Danube. The latter theory, however, depends chiefly for its support on an acceptance of the view that Hellenistic influence is discernible in the monument of Adamklissi. It may, indeed, be questioned whether either theory of the channels of influence is correct. The *genre* scenes of the Neumagen and Igel reliefs seem to associate themselves equally well with the 'Hellenistic' reliefs of the Augustan period (p. 52), while scenes from family and social life are sufficiently frequent in Italian wall-paintings. The claims of Rome herself cannot, therefore, be altogether ignored.

We are thus brought to the consideration of Greek art in the adjoining portion of the Roman empire, the southern provinces of Gaul. Among those regions which were not entirely dependent on importations from the centre of civilization, but on emerging from barbarism showed themselves capable of producing independent art with more or less success, none more readily attract our notice. In no country is genuinely provincial art more effective or more characteristic. It will, therefore, be necessary to devote some space to the consideration of its achievements, which manifest themselves not only in architecture and sculpture, but also in the minor spheres of bronze and terra-cotta work, and of pottery, all of which must claim our attention.

Caesar, at the time of his conquest of Gaul, found there no traces of native art, and, in fact, tells us that it was forbidden by the religion of the people. But if it is true, as he supposed, that 'art for art's sake' was not practised, it is certain that, in the more utilitarian sphere of the decorative arts, the Gauls had long shown themselves possessed of great technical skill and industry. One

PROVINCIAL ROMAN SCULPTURE FROM NEUMAGEN NEAR TRIER

(TRIER MUSEUM)

writer attributes to them the invention of enamelling in bronze and another speaks of the town of Alesia as famous for inlaid silver-work applied to bronze harness and trappings of horses. Many specimens of bronze vases, brooches, and other objects have been found, with rich but somewhat crude enamelled decoration; the patterns are grooved out and filled in with a coloured paste (which is not, however, a true glass enamel). The chief characteristics of this work are a tendency to geometrical patterns and a preference for symmetry rather than living forms; a fondness for bright colours and open-work reliefs; and a tendency to conventionalize human and animal forms into decorative motives, as in the brooches in the form of animals ('zoomorphic fibulae') found in Belgium and elsewhere. Similar objects are found in the remains of the purely Celtic La Tène period which preceded the Roman conquest, and is named from a settlement on Lake Neufchâtel where it is best represented.

On the other hand, we must admit that Gaul (and Britain also) had been familiarized with Greek art long before the advent of the Romans, and that there is evidence in the art of Central and Northern Europe of commercial communication with the Mediterranean in comparatively remote times. As early as the sixth century B.C. the Phocaeans from Asia Minor had established a Greek colony at Marseilles (Massilia), which was then, as now, the outlet for the commerce of the Rhone valley, and Greek merchants in search of copper and tin must have penetrated, like the Phoenicians, as far as Spain and even Britain. Mycenaean vases have been found in Spain and at Marseilles, and among the gold treasure found at Vettersfeld in Germany were objects of undoubted archaic Greek work. From the fifth century onward Greek and Etruscan bronzes and painted vases found their way into the tombs of Gaul, Helvetia, and Western Germany, and even in Britain Etruscan bronzes have come to light. It is also well known that the Britons imitated in their coinage the Macedonian *staters* of the fourth century.

All this goes to prove that the remarkable impetus given to artistic production in Gaul after the Roman conquest was not so surprising after all, having been largely prepared for by a long course of familiarity with works of Greek art. Nor did the Gauls require to create new types for themselves, when they were rapidly becoming acquainted, through the medium of their Roman conquerors, with the masterpieces of the Hellenistic and later schools, which largely

served them for models. Another source of inspiration open to them was that of Egypt. In the first century after Christ, Graeco-Egyptian art was not only dominating Italy, as we see at Pompeii, but through the medium of the extensive commerce between Alexandria and Marseilles, penetrated also into Gaul. Pliny tells us that Zenodorus of Alexandria made a Mercury for the Arverni, who inhabited the district of the Allier, near Clermont; and the mosaic of Lillebonne (p. 111), the work of a Carthaginian living at Pozzuoli, is altogether Egyptian in inspiration. In particular, in the provincial triumphal arches and other monuments of the same class, Alexandrine influence is generally to be observed. The Mausoleum of Julius at St. Remy is decorated with masks and Cupids holding garlands, such as are often seen at Pompeii, purely Alexandrine in style and subject. The type of this monument, on the other hand, is non-Italian, and resembles those at Igel and Neumagen. It has, in fact, been suggested that it goes back to Hellenistic prototypes, such as the Mausoleum. The bas-reliefs of the triumphal arch at Orange have also been held to be Graeco-Egyptian. On the other hand, we may note the realistic character of much Gallo-Roman work: its preference for portraits and scenes from family or social life, as opposed to mythological subjects. This is especially true of the monuments of Gallia Belgica which have already been discussed, and in regard to which it has been pointed out that the influence of Augustan Roman art has also played its part.

M. Reinach, in estimating the character of Gallo-Roman art (apart from foreign influences), considers that there is little in it to admire.[1] With the exception of some copies of Greek works, and some decorative objects such as the enamelled brooches, nothing rises above mediocrity, and much of the sculpture is positively bad. But it must not be neglected on this account, for even barbaric work has its importance for the history of art. He attributes its inferiority to two causes: firstly, that the seed of a strange art fell on a soil not prepared to receive it, when the tendency of the national genius was in conflict with external influences; secondly, that these influences came from a race whose art had worn itself out, and fallen into corruption and decay.

One or two monuments may be taken as typical of Gaulish architecture and sculpture, all of which belong to a very early period in the

[1] *Cat. des Bronzes du Musée St. Germain*, Introduction, p. 23.

THE MAUSOLEUM OF JULIUS, ST. REMY, FRANCE

history of the Roman dominion. The most striking, architecturally, is the Mausoleum of Julius at St. Remy (Plate LXV.), a building formed of two quadrangular stages, crowned by a circular colonnade with conical cupola, about sixty feet high and fourteen feet square. Beneath the cupola are statues of the deceased man and his wife, and on each face of the lower stage a bas-relief; of these three represent combats of Romans and Gauls, the fourth a boar-hunt; above is a frieze with marine monsters. The date of the monument is about 30-20 B.C., and it evidently has allusion to the military career of one of Julius Caesar's contemporaries; in the fashion of the armour there are details which recall the altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus (p. 56), a work of slightly earlier date. We have already noted its resemblance to the Igel monument, and it would appear to be an intermediate stage between that and the prototype of all such structures, the Mausoleum of Halicarnassos, to which, indeed, it bears a distant resemblance. In this respect, at least, it bears out the theory of a Hellenistic origin for the art of Central Europe.

There are in the same region two remarkable examples of triumphal arches, which, though from an architectural point of view they follow the normal Roman types, are yet most important for our present purpose on account of their sculptured decoration. Of these one is at Susa, in Piedmont—the ancient Segusio; not, therefore, strictly within the limits of Gallic territory, but in a district inhabited in Roman times by Gauls, and therefore subject to the same artistic conditions. Here an arch was erected in 8 or 9 B.C., of the single type, with composite capitals, about forty-five feet high, and bearing on its attic a dedication to Augustus by Cottius, the native prefect, and the tribes subject to him. Above the arch is a sculptured frieze, commemorating the signing of an amicable treaty between Rome (represented by the emperor) and fourteen Alpine tribes governed by King Donnus, whose names are recorded in the inscription. His son Cottius, who accepted office under his conquerors, is seated at a table with Augustus, receiving the representatives of the tribes. On the north and south sides a sacrifice is being offered by Cottius on behalf of his troops, and the usual three victims of the Suovetaurilia, the sheep, pig, and bull, are being immolated, as we see them on the *Ara Pacis* (p. 53).

It is generally agreed that the sculptures are the work of local

artists, but as regards the influences under which they worked the same disagreement has arisen as in the case of Adamklissi. Furtwaengler noted close similarities in the style of these two works, which he used as an argument in support of the early date of the latter, whereas Professor Studniczka, in pointing out the differences between the Susa reliefs and such Augustan art as that of the *Ara Pacis*, sees in these the traces of archaic Greek influence brought from Ionia to Marseilles.

The other arch is that of Orange (Plate LXVI.), one of the few monuments which can be assigned to the reign of Tiberius, though according to some authorities it is only the inscription which is of that date, and the arch itself with its sculptures is some twenty years earlier. It is built of limestone, and is about sixty feet high, having a central arch with a smaller one on each side, and highly enriched Corinthian columns. The main decoration consists of battle scenes, those on the north side forming a continuous frieze, whereas on the south are a series of single combats between Romans and Gauls, the latter being generally discomfited. The subjects are treated quite in the Greek manner, like the sarcophagus of Alexander from Sidon. Above are two 'attics,' on the upper of which are more battle scenes, in which horsemen take part. Above the smaller arches are military and naval trophies of armour, instruments of sacrifice, etc., and at the sides similar subjects are repeated. On a shield in one of the trophies occurs the name of the sculptor Boudillus.

The arch is then the work of local sculptors, and is a typical example of Gallo-Roman work. Scholars are not, however, agreed as to the influences under which the artists worked, one regarding the reliefs as Pergamene in style; another, as we have seen, Greek of an earlier period; while a third considers that they resemble the reliefs of the arch at St. Remy. On the other hand, two of the chief French authorities consider that their prototypes are Alexandrine rather than Hellenistic; and M. Reinach goes so far as to say 'we observe a precision of archaeological detail and an absence of the mythological element which obviously recall Trajan's column, a work which some have held to be Graeco-Egyptian.' But even if this is their artistic source, they can hardly be brought down to the time of Trajan.

Roman Gaul has produced many bronze statuettes, some of considerable size, varying very greatly in merit. Some are so

ROMAN TRIUMPHAL ARCH AT ORANGE, FRANCE

beautiful and of such admirable workmanship that they can only be ranked among the imported works of art like the marble statues of which we have already spoken. Among these may be mentioned the charming little Hermes in the British Museum, the finding of which, in a cave at Pierre-en-Luiset, has been graphically recounted by its former owner, Payne Knight.[1] Though a work of the Roman period, it is a really beautiful figure, and in all probability goes back to an original by Lysippus, or, as some have thought, by Polycleitus.

But there are others in which great technical skill is displayed, and there is an evident desire to reproduce the artistic effect of the original from which they are copied, but the hand of the provincial is betrayed by some detail or some un-Greek effect which proclaims the native origin of the work. Thus in the pretty though somewhat effeminate Bacchus from Chessy in the British Museum (Plate LXVII.), provincialism reveals itself in the extreme softness of the bodily forms, and more markedly in the treatment of the cup which he holds. This should be a two-handled drinking-vessel of the type known as *cantharus*, the stock attribute of the god in Greek art; but the local artist has converted this into an amphora by undue lengthening of the body of the vase. This figure is described by the late A. S. Murray as 'studied from a Greek original, but pervaded by an artistic difference,'[2] and the same description would hold good of many others, such as a figure of Mars found on the Rhine, and also in the British Museum (Plate LXVII.). Here the classical model has been transformed by the ungainly and inaccurate proportions, and by the non-classical type of face, into a figure which no Greek training could ever have produced. Yet there are details which recall Greek work, such as the helmet with its Sphinx and gryphons like the helmet of Athena in Pheidias' statue, and the mask of Medusa on the cuirass. One small point in which the sculptor has curiously failed is in the treatment of the short chiton under the cuirass, which falls on each side in zigzag folds like the open chiton of a woman, a feature quite impossible in a man's garment.

The great deity of the Gauls was Hercules, or Ogmios as they styled him, and conceiving him as the Supreme Deity, they invested

[1] See *British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes*, p. xv.

[2] *Greek Bronzes*, p. 89.

him with a wider range of attributes than a Greek could have done. A remarkable instance of this is a bronze statuette found at Vienne, which represents a Hercules of the usual Greek type, bearded and wearing the lion's skin, but accompanied by a strange implement consisting of a large barrel on a pole, surrounded by spikes on which are placed smaller barrels. The meaning of these curious attributes has been disputed, but the most probable explanation is that the larger object is a wine-barrel, the smaller ones mallets or hammers. A hammer-bearing god is not otherwise unknown in Gaulish art, and betokens a connexion with the Scandinavian Thor, the Greek Hephaistos. The wine-barrel, taken in conjunction with the cup held in the god's right hand, shows him to be also conceived as a Gaulish Bacchus, a not unnatural conception of the Supreme Deity in a country in which wine-growing was an important industry.

A Hercules from the Roman Wall in the British Museum is much more classical in type, and closely resembles the Tyrian Hercules as represented on coins of Thasos. An altar to this deity has been found in the same neighbourhood. The face is of a purely Greek type, of the time of Alexander the Great, and is combined with certain archaic details of proportion, attitude and costume, the survival of which at so late a date is remarkable. Another truly Hellenic type is a head of a river-god from Lezoux in the Musée St. Germain, which is finely executed, with great precision of detail, and belongs to the first century after Christ.

An interesting characteristic of many Gaulish statuettes is the introduction of national costume, consisting of a thick, close-fitting coat, and the breeches or trousers so universally affected by the non-classical nations of Europe and Asia. This costume is well illustrated by a figure of Dispater, the Gaulish Zeus, in the British Museum (Plate LXVII.); the type is borrowed from the Graeco-Egyptian Sarapis, but with a change of costume. There is also in the same collection an admirably executed statuette of a Gaulish chieftain in similar native costume, which seems to be too good for native workmanship. But the Pergamene sculptures remind us that the Greeks were familiar with the Gauls and their appearance, while on the other hand we have seen that the latter race were not without training in the principles of classical art.

In the terra-cottas or clay statuettes of the Roman period found

GAULISH BRONZE STATUETTES
(BRITISH MUSEUM)

in Gaul we find a much lower level of excellence. Here there is no question of importations, for the peculiar white clay of which they are made is only found in the region of the Allier, round Clermont-Ferrand, where the majority were produced. They are really more interesting for their subjects and for their technique than for any artistic merit they may be considered to possess.

None are anterior to the Roman conquest, and they were probably made for the Roman colonists, who set the fashion in the religious types employed. The chief potteries were at Moulins, and most of the existing figures were unearthed there, not in tombs, but on the actual site of the potteries. The technique, apart from the character of the clay, resembles that of the Roman terra-cottas; there is no 'vent-hole' at the back, and they usually stand on a conical base. The modelling is very heavy, and the latest specimens are absolutely barbaric. Some appear to have been copied from bronze originals; but most of the favourite types are not represented among the bronze statuettes. From the numerous moulds which have been found, it may be seen that the figures were cast in two pieces, longitudinally, the arms being added afterwards, together with the base.

Potters' names are found both on the interior and exterior of the moulds, the former repeated also on the figures themselves (the natural result of the process employed). The latter were mere memoranda scratched on for the identification of the moulds, but the former indicated the creator of the type and made him known to the world. Many of the statuette-makers are also known as potters; but neither in type nor in subjects have these figures anything in common with the figured pottery. The names are both Gaulish and Roman.

The statuettes of the Allier valley show more conspicuously than any others the influence of transplanted Graeco-Roman art, whereas those manufactured in Western France mainly show native characteristics. It is as a rule difficult to date them or classify them chronologically, owing to the absence of definite evidence. Even a decadent or barbaric style does not necessarily imply late date, but only that the inferior work is due to the incapacity of some local artist. The same, too, holds good of Gaulish pottery. We can, however, date them roughly between A.D. 15 and A.D. 265, and some may be placed about the middle of this period from the resemblance

of the feminine coiffures to those of Domitia and Julia, the daughter of Titus (A.D. 80-100).

The subjects fall under three headings: divinities, subjects from daily life, and animals. The deities are not those of which Caesar speaks as enjoying most popularity in Gaul, for they are mainly variants of one type, that of Venus. Many of these reproduce types familiar in Greek and Graeco-Roman art, such as the Anadyomene, or the Cnidian type; but in the majority she is frankly recognized as a Nature-goddess, and accordingly represented nude, with the utmost coarseness and realism. Another less unpleasing type is the Mother-goddess, represented suckling a child, which is analogous to the Fecunditas type found on Roman coins.

Egyptian types such as Isis and Horus also appear, and, in fact, the nearest parallels to these Gaulish terra-cottas are the quasi-Oriental figures of the period which are found in Egypt, at Naukratis, and in the Fayûm, and also in Syria. Thus the influence of which we have already spoken in reference to the bronze statuettes is also to be traced in the terra-cottas; but it must not be supposed that their *style* is Egyptian; it is only in the subjects represented that the Oriental influence is manifested. The Venus types repeat in their grossness the characteristics of their Syrian and Egyptian prototypes, but they are certainly of native workmanship. Though not in evidence in the terra-cottas, the prevalence of other Oriental types in Gaul, those of Mithras and Jupiter Dolichenus, points to the spread of the cult of deities from the East.

We have seen in the preceding chapter that the red pottery decorated with reliefs, which has long been known in this country under the name of 'Samian ware,' has no right whatever to such a title, but that it was manufactured almost entirely in Gaul, and that it is a direct descendant of the Italian Arretine ware, again descended from the true Samian. A German archaeologist would style this pottery 'Provincial *terra sigillata*.' It is, at all events, quite distinct—apart from the general technical method—from the Italian fabrics, and forms one of the most remarkable instances of a genuine artistic development purely provincial in its character. For this reason it may be selected as one of the most characteristic phases of Roman art in the provinces, and is more appropriately

dealt with in such a connection than in conjunction with the genuine Roman pottery.

The provincial wares are distinguished by their fine, close-grained, red clay, harder than the Italian, and by their brighter yet deeper red glaze. The latter varies in lustre and quality as well as in tone, according to the degree of heat used in baking, but is produced by similar methods. The ornamentation, on the other hand, is invariably coarser and inferior in execution, and, though it derives its inspiration from Arretine vases, is divided from them by a considerable interval of artistic degeneration. Found all over a large part of the Roman world, from the Balkan to the Spanish Peninsula, on the British as well as the German outposts of the empire, it is most abundant in the districts of France watered by the upper Loire, and in the neighbourhood of the Rhine. We are therefore led to look to these regions for the centres of its manufacture, for its main characteristics are the same wherever it is found. The vases are usually of small dimensions, and confined to various forms of the bowl, cup, or dish, of which two or three are preferred in the ornamented varieties to the exclusion of the rest. Their sharp and angular profiles indicate that in nearly all cases they are derived from metal prototypes. They frequently bear the stamp of the potter impressed on the inside or outside.

The method by means of which this pottery has now been classified, dated, and assigned to its localities is two-fold: firstly, the chronological evidence of excavations, secondly, the evidence to be derived from the discovery of potters' moulds or utensils, the occurrence of which in any place obviously indicates a centre of manufacture. It is only necessary to note the potters' names and the subjects occurring on the moulds or on the scattered fragments collected from these sites to obtain absolute certainty as to what potters worked there, and what forms of decoration they employed. Thus the finds on other sites can be easily assigned to their proper fabrics.

The chronological evidence assists us in another way. Many of the finds can be dated by means of the coins which accompany them, even within a few years. Other sites again, such as the forts on the Limes, or German boundary of the Roman empire, can be dated by external historical evidence. Further, the discovery of certain types and forms occurring exclusively on these dated sites is obviously an

invaluable aid to the distribution and succession of the different varieties.

The most important result of such investigations has been to show that during the period of activity of the Gaulish potteries—extending from about A.D. 40 to A.D. 260—three forms of bowl occur, almost to the exclusion of all others, in a distinct chronological succession. We speak only of the vases ornamented with reliefs, with which alone we need concern ourselves at present. These three forms, of which drawings are here given (Fig. 10), in-

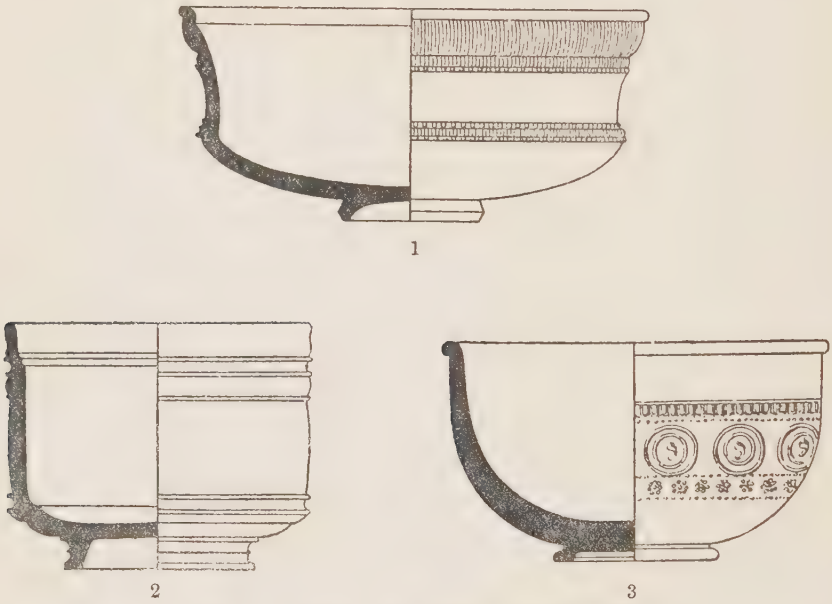


FIG. 10.—FORMS OF ORNAMENTED GAULISH VASES

clude practically all the artistic output of the Gaulish and German potteries for two centuries. At Hofheim near Frankfurt, for instance, where the finds can be dated between A.D. 40 and A.D. 60, the pottery is almost exclusively of Form 1; and similar results have been obtained from other sites where chronological data are available. In Southern Germany Form 3 appears to have been almost the only one manufactured.

Recent excavations in France have further shown that while there were numerous sites on which pottery was made, of which remains of furnaces or utensils are a proof, there were only two

which were on anything like a large scale, and that the periods of their activity were not contemporaneous. These two places are La Graufesenque near Rodez, in the Department of Aveyron, and Lezoux, in the Department of Puy de Dôme, near Clermont-Ferrand. They represent respectively the sites of Condatomagus in the territory of the Rutenians, and Ledosus in that of the Arvernians. To one or other of these centres fully seven-eighths of the ornamented pottery in our museums and collections can be assigned. At Graufesenque we find Form No. 1 in use, a shallow bowl with moulded sides and a double row of decoration; Form No. 2, the cylindrical bowl, is common to both sites, but at no time very common; Form No. 3 is chiefly associated with the later ware of Lezoux. The Graufesenque pottery can be dated between the years 40 and 100, that of Lezoux between 70 and 260, about which latter year the place was destroyed by invading barbarians. In Germany there were also two principal centres, at Rheinzabern, near Speyer, and Westerndorf in Southern Bavaria; but these were both later than the Gaulish potteries, and did not come into existence before the second century. The vases are almost all of Form 3, and are very similar in style to those of Lezoux.

We turn now to discuss the artistic character of this pottery. The local painted pottery of Gaul had, in the first century B.C., reached a comparatively high level, but its development was completely broken off by the irruption of Italian methods about the time of Augustus, and few events in the history of classical art are more surprising than the rapid Romanizing of this country and its conversion to a mere tributary of Roman industry. The new development at first followed on the lines of the Arretine ware, even adopting one of its favourite forms, the *crater*, but soon attempted to strike out a new line. Though always artistically inferior to the Arretine, it at least displays greater variety, even the methods of decoration being, as we shall see, varied from time to time.

There is at first, *i.e.* in the pottery of Graufesenque, a general absence of figure subjects, and the designs are purely ornamental, or else animals, such as birds or hares, are introduced as mere decorative elements. An important distinction from the Italian wares should be noted, viz. that in the latter the wreaths or scrolls which play a prominent part in the decoration are composed of single detached leaves or flowers, whereas in the provincial wares

the whole wreath is modelled in one continuous system, at first formed of undulating motives or scrolls, but subsequently taking the form of a straight wreath or band of ornament. The figure compositions on the other hand, are at first rigidly confined in square or oblong panels with ornamental borders, ranged side by side round the vase. By degrees this system is relaxed, arches and medallions being introduced as framework for the figures, and affording an opening for greater variety of composition. It is not until the full development of the Lezoux pottery in the hemispherical bowls of the second century that what is known as the 'free style' is introduced, in which the figures are ranged in a continuous frieze round the vase without any borders or other confining framework. But in these cases the subjects are almost exclusively limited to hunting scenes or friezes of animals, which demand a continuous and unconfined surface. It should be noted in reference to these schemes of decoration that the wreaths and scrolls are naturally more suited to the earlier form of bowl, the 'free' figure subjects to the later. (See generally Plate LXVIII.)

As regards the figure subjects, it may be generally observed that the conceptions are good, but the execution poor. Many are obvious imitations of well-known works of art, such as statues of Venus or Diana, and it is curious that no purely Gaulish subjects occur. In general they are of Hellenistic origin, and of a nature characteristic of the art of that period. Others, however, are distinctly Roman, such as the frequent representations of two gladiators fighting; these closely follow the types of Roman art, and some of the themes are almost exact reproductions of those seen on the Roman lamps. But though the subjects draw their inspiration exclusively from classical sources, the style of art is essentially provincial.

M. Déchelette, whose investigations have thrown much light on this previously unexplored subject, draws attention to the inequality of artistic execution apparent in the Graufesenque pottery, which he describes as frequently naïve and unsophisticated in character. Although the difference in style from the Arretine vases is strongly marked, there is yet the same tendency to display the influence of metal-work prototypes, and even of the later reliefs of the Hellenistic period. But other types are original and non-classical in style, and there is no homogeneity. The potter Libertus, who worked at Lezoux about A.D. 100, stands out as the foremost potter and

GAULISH POTTERY OF ABOUT 50-150 A.D
(BRITISH MUSEUM)

modeller in Gaul, who, brought up on classical traditions, influenced the whole pottery of the country. He seems to have introduced the 'free' style. But the height of the prosperity of the Lezoux potteries was in the time of the Antonines (140-180), when the potters Paternus and Cinnamus, both of whom have left many fine vases, were the representatives of the industry, and when exportation from this centre was at its height.

It is instructive to observe to what extent and in what directions exportation went on from these potteries. During the first century after Christ we are met with the surprising fact that large numbers of vases were exported from Graufesenque into Italy. The names of Rutenian potters occur frequently not only at Rome but also at Pompeii, and in the latter case we have, of course, valuable evidence of date, as they cannot be later than A.D. 79. But the significance of this phenomenon lies in the fact that it proves the Arretine ware to have lost its popularity or sunk into degeneration, and further, that nothing had arisen in Italy to replace it. When we come to the second century, however, not more than one or two names of Lezoux potters are found at Rome, and the activities of this fabric lay in other directions. The great majority of the Roman pottery found in Britain is from this source.

It has been hinted that the moulded wares were not the only form of ornamental pottery made in Gaul, and we have also to discuss two or three other types of pottery of special interest. The provincial potters were much addicted to a method of decoration known as *en barbotine*, the salient feature of which is the application of pattern to the surface of the vase in the form of a thick, viscous slip. This was produced by moistening the clay of which it was moulded to the necessary consistency, and then applying it through the medium of a tube, forming patterns and sometimes figures in relief. This was done previously to the glazing and firing so that the barbotine patterns present the same superficial appearance as their background. It was not an easy process, and its use is limited to the production of simple patterns of leaves and tendrils. But, as we shall see when we come to speak of British pottery, it was to some extent capable of further developments.

This method of decoration is unknown in Italy, and in fact appears to have been invented in Germany, perhaps as early as the first century B.C. It is used on pottery of a rough kind, a connecting

link between the late Celtic or La Tène pottery and that of the Roman period, which is found in early settlements, such as Andernach, in the neighbourhood of the Rhine. Adopted subsequently at Lezoux for application to plain red ware of the *terra sigillata* class, in the course of the second century it plays a part in what is really a surprising development. Tired of the somewhat monotonous decoration of the 'free style' vases, the potters of this centre struck out a new line altogether in their red ware, and instead of moulding the vase, decoration and all, they produced it in a plain form on the wheel, and then applied to its surface decoration in the form of separately-moulded reliefs. Each of these is a single figure, and the intervening spaces are filled in with rich and effective foliage, produced in the manner described above. But as we have said, this process had its limitations, and when the potter wished, for instance, to depict a vine, he was forced to mould the leaves from his old stamps in *terra sigillata*. These vases are almost exclusively of one form, a large ovoid jar probably corresponding to the Latin *olla*.

Many of these vases have been found at Lezoux and elsewhere in France, but some of the finest specimens found their way to Britain. One unearthed in the city of London, in Cornhill, now in the British Museum, though perhaps not earlier than the third century, is as artistic and ornamental in its general effect as any product of the Roman potter. The figures are modelled with great care, one of a youth being especially good, and the vine which intertwines among them reminds us of the naturalistic foliage effects created by the sculptors of the Augustan age.

Another development of the principle of ornamentation by separately-attached reliefs is associated with the Rhone valley, especially the neighbourhood of Vienne and Arles. But these vases are more interesting for their subjects than for any artistic merit they may possess, and none are earlier than the third century after Christ.

II.—THE ROMANS IN BRITAIN

The occupation of Britain by the Romans began in A.D. 43 with the conquests of Aulus Plautius and Agricola, and spread rapidly over the southern and midland districts; about A.D. 80 the advance to Scotland began under the latter general, and continued steadily

until the erection of Hadrian's Wall in 124. But the highland districts were always less settled than the lowland, and there were never any important settlements further north than York. Professor Haverfield is careful to point out the marked difference between the highland and lowland districts of England,[1] the former always under military jurisdiction, the latter only under civil government. The border line ran roughly from the Severn estuary to Shrewsbury and thence through Derbyshire to York. Except what we learn from existing remains very little is really known about Roman Britain, and its history was probably much like that of other outlying provinces of the empire. Being so remote, it never became very wealthy or very much civilized, and in fact, the troops seem to have been withdrawn at an early date except from the frontier garrisons; yet its remains have a special character of their own, which distinguish them from those of other parts of the empire. Romano-British civilization is characterized by Professor Haverfield as 'Romanization on a low scale.'[2] Almost every feature of the life of the conquerors was Roman; their pottery, their mosaic pavements, and their domestic arrangements were largely borrowed from Italy, though the latter were somewhat modified by physical circumstances. Except for a few local industries, such as the manufacture of pottery in the Nene Valley and New Forest, the 'Late Celtic' art of the native Britons entirely vanished, and was replaced by imported work.

There were only five settlements which attained to the status of towns, of which Camolodunum (Colchester), Glevum (Gloucester), Lindum (Lincoln), and Eboracum (York), were technically *coloniae*, Verulamium a *municipium*; but some smaller towns, such as Calleva (Silchester), reached the stage of a walled town with forum and other adjuncts of civilization. These had usually a wall surrounding them in the form of a rectangle, with a gateway in each side from which a principal street led to the central forum. This arrangement may still be seen in such towns as Chester, Colchester, and Gloucester, the streets in the latter being named at the present day Northgate, Westgate, etc. The principal gate was known as the Porta Decumana, a name derived, as was the whole system of laying out the town, from the arrangement of the Roman military

[1] *Victoria County History of Derbyshire*, i. p. 191.
[2] *Victoria County History of Northants*, i. p. 161.

camp. The walls were almost invariably of concrete, faced with alternate layers of stone and tiles, the latter being flat and square, usually in three rows together, and used merely as bonding courses. Good examples of this system are to be seen in the existing walls of Colchester, Verulam, and Lympne, in Kent. The best existing gateway is that at Lincoln. Each town had its basilica, its public baths, and theatre or amphitheatre, as well as temples and other public buildings.

The country was divided up into estates or villas, of which a great number, of more or less importance, have been discovered in all parts, and it is to these that we must turn for information as to the arrangements of Roman houses in Britain. They are especially numerous in Gloucestershire, and there are also good examples at Bignor, in Sussex, and Brading, in the Isle of Wight; of those in the first-named county the best are at Woodchester and Chedworth. The houses are mostly of two main types—the corridor and the courtyard; the first consisting of a row of rooms with a covered passage along the front, while in the second the rooms are built round three sides of a courtyard, fronted by a covered passage or colonnade. Both types, it should be noted, are peculiar to Britain, and may be modifications of a local Celtic arrangement; but there is no doubt that they appealed to the Romans as affording more warmth and protection against the severity of the northern climate than the plan of an Italian house which was adopted for an exactly opposite purpose.

The houses were either wholly of masonry or built of wood on sub-structures of stone, and were roofed with tiles or slates. Two local peculiarities, both introduced with a view to warmth, are the use of glass in the windows, and the invariable elaborate arrangement of hypocausts or hot-air chambers beneath the rooms. In Italy, these are only found in use for warming the hot rooms of baths, but in Britain they supplied heat all over the house by means of flues constructed of tiles radiating all over the building. Good examples may be seen at Wroxeter (Viroconium), at Hartlip, in Kent, and in the villa at Chedworth, in Gloucestershire, where the pillars of tiles supporting the floors above are still standing.

A thoroughly typical British town is Silchester or Calleva Atrebatum, between Reading and Basingstoke, which has in late years been so successfully excavated under the auspices of the Society

BRONZE STATUE PERHAPS REPRESENTING ALEXANDER THE GREAT
(BRITISH MUSEUM)

of Antiquaries, and has now been completely explored. It was the meeting-place of roads from London, Winchester and the west, the last-named known as the Ermine Way in its course over the Cotswolds from Gloucester to Cirencester, and finding its way over the Berkshire downs through Speen (Spinae), near Newbury, to Silchester. The ground-plan of the town consists of streets laid out at right angles in chess-board form, with a forum in the centre, two acres in extent, where were also a basilica and shops. The forum was surrounded by an ambulatory; the basilica was of rectangular form, with a tribune at each end. The whole town was surrounded by a wall of polygonal outline, enclosing a space of one hundred acres. Among the other buildings are three small temples and a Christian church, and an amphitheatre outside the walls on the north. The walls of the town are not earlier than the third century, but some of the remains go back to the epoch of the Flavian emperors.

The private houses, which like those of Pompeii are arranged in blocks or *insulae*, are partly of the courtyard, partly of the corridor type, exhibiting a condition of comfort and elegance, but not of anything like wealth or splendour, and there are not more than eighty in all deserving of the name. They present the other features which we have noted as characteristic of Britain, the covered corridors in front of the rooms with colonnades of dwarf columns, the tiled roofs, and the hypocausts or warming apparatus under the floors. Some houses have painted wall decoration in the style of Pompeii; there are also some fairly good mosaic pavements, but nothing remarkable.

From the purely artistic point of view the remains of Roman Britain have little of which to boast, of native products still less. Some sculptures of more than average merit have, however, been found, both of stone and of bronze; and of these some must be imported works, but others appear to be actually by local artists. Among the former we may note three sculptures found in Walbrook, London, and now in private possession; two of these are marble figures of a river-god and an unidentified male deity, probably a Genius. In workmanship and artistic excellence they far surpass the average Romano-British products, and as Professor Haverfield has pointed out, in subject, detail, and treatment they 'belong to the

classical world, and indeed to the Greek rather than to the Roman or the Roman-provincial part of it. The River-god in particular would take a high place, by whatever standard it were judged. The mild dignity which characterizes the face and head are indicated with real effectiveness. The hair and beard, though treated somewhat plainly, are easy and free from any serious stiffness, and the modelling of the shoulder and breast show the true sculptor. . . . The Bonus Eventus is more conventional. Yet, here again, the shape of the body is given with truth and grace; the pose is easy and natural; the drapery falls lightly, and the whole, when complete, must have been a very satisfactory work.'[1] The 'typical' character of the head is more in keeping with the traditions of Greek than of Roman art, late Celtic and British elements are absent, and there are no affinities even with the advanced art of the Igel and Neumagen sculptures. The third sculpture is more interesting for its subject and inscriptions than as a work of art. It is a relief of the Mithraic class (see p. 85), with the usual group of Mithras slaying the bull, the Sun-god and Moon in chariots, and other symbolical figures.

Among bronze figures of foreign workmanship three in the British Museum may be cited as conspicuously fine examples. One is the Hercules from the Roman Wall already mentioned (p. 160); another is a statuette from Barking Hall in Suffolk, two feet in height (Plate LXIX.). This represents a man in Imperial costume, but evidently not a Roman; it has been identified with Alexander the Great or one of his successors, and the pose of the upturned head suggests that it is derived from an original by Lysippus of the Great King himself, copied by a Gaulish artist. The work is very elaborate, the cuirass being inlaid with patterns in silver and enamel; but the proportions are bad, the legs being too short and the torso too massive. It may be said to stand on the threshold between pure classical work and native art.

The third figure is a statuette of an archer bending his bow, found in Queen Street, London, which may even be a purely Greek work, earlier than the Roman period, or at any rate can only have come from an artist with Greek training. It is full of the Greek spirit, admirable in conception and execution, and worthy to be compared with the Hercules from the Wall. The bow and arrows are wanting, but the action of the figure, which is eleven inches high,

[1] *Archaeologia*, lx. Pls. 8-10, p. 43 ff.

HEAD OF HADRIAN FROM LONDON
(BRITISH MUSEUM)

is clear, and it is otherwise in perfect preservation. Among other examples of imported work may also be mentioned a fine bronze statuette of Jupiter found near Oakham in Rutland, but unfortunately imperfect, and four small figures found in the Thames near old London Bridge in 1837, representing Jupiter, Apollo, Mercury, and Ganymede, probably the household gods of some Roman official. Nor must we omit to mention the splendid bronze head of Hadrian (Plate LXX.) found at the same place in 1834, from a colossal statue of that emperor at about the age of thirty. It is not, however, very successful as a portrait, though it shows great artistic skill in modelling and execution. All these bronzes are in the British Museum.

Among the works which there is more probability for assigning to local artists the two most striking are perhaps the bearded Gorgon head found on the site of the Pump Room at Bath and the now famous 'Corbridge lion' from the recent excavations (1907) in Northumberland. In both there will be observed a striking contrast to the sculptures already described; though immeasurably inferior from the strictly artistic point of view, they are full of a rough barbaric vigour and originality. The first-named is a relief from the pediment of the temple of Sul-Minerva,[1] a Gorgon's face carved on the shield of Minerva which is held by two Victories. The head is conceived as male, and bearded, but this is not absolutely unknown in archaic Greek art, where the Medusa is sometimes treated in similarly grotesque detail.[2] The sculptor may, however, have adapted, or confused it with, some other type.

We cannot do better than quote Professor Haverfield's commentary upon it[3]:—'The head is among the most remarkable products of Roman provincial art in Western Europe. Its marked individuality and astonishing vigour are hardly less extraordinary than its technical features. In the one respect, as in the other, it stands alone. The best sculptures found in the western provinces[4] are in their various ways classical. This head is an exception. It has artistic merits. It is adapted from a classical original. But it is not itself classical. It reveals a spirit of wild freedom which is

[1] Sul or Sulis was a local goddess (whence Aquae Solis and the neighbouring hill of Little Solsbury) whom the Romans identified with Minerva.

[2] Compare a terra-cotta antefix from Capua in the British Museum (B 597, case 45 of the room of terra-cottas).

[3] *Victoria County Hist. of Somerset*, i. p. 236.

[4] Such, for instance, as those of Neumagen (p. 153).

neither strictly Greek nor Roman, and students of the best Greek period would call it barbaric. Here for once we break through the conventionality of the Lower Empire and trace a touch of genius.' He assigns the work to the second or third century.

The 'Corbridge lion' (Plate LXXI.) is a group of a lion standing on the back of a stag and tearing its limbs, its face turned towards the spectator as if to face some interruption, while its victim lies helpless and exhausted. 'The work is clumsy and heavy, yet the effort to pourtray the death-agony shows a sympathy with nature and truth of observation which, in spite of technical defects, raise it above the level of most Roman provincial sculpture. The lion has distinct power and vigour, but the conception is derived from art, not nature, and the face is grotesquely human.' Obviously the artist had never seen a lion, and its conventionality contrasts strongly with the realism of the stag. The type may be a reminiscence of some classical original, and it is one well known in Roman art (as, for instance, in Gaulish pottery). 'Other examples from Northern Britain,' say its discoverers, 'are mostly local repetitions of well-known types, such as Mithraic figures, mechanical and degenerate, like the Cybele at Chesters. The Corbridge group may be ruder in workmanship or clumsier in design, but it has originality and individual expression. It is far from being a work of art, but is important in its bearing on Romano-British civilization.'[1] The date is apparently about the middle of the second century. Votive altars to local deities, worked in local stone, are also frequent along the wall of Hadrian and in other parts of Northern Britain.

Of architecture, painting, gem-engraving, and ornamental work in terra-cotta there is practically nothing; but it is possible to call attention to a few good specimens of metal-work, notably the ornamented bronze helmets of which there is a remarkable specimen from Ribchester, Lancashire, in the British Museum, and others have recently been found in excavations at Newstead, near Melrose, in Scotland.[2] Furtwaengler also mentions with commendation two *trullae* or saucepans, one of silver in the British Museum, found in Northumberland, the other of bronze, from Prickwillow in Cambridgeshire, with the name of the maker, Bodvogenus.[3] A juster

[1] *Archaeol. Aeliana*, 3rd Ser. iv. (1908), p. 238.

[2] Curle, *Roman Frontier Post*, Pls. 26-30.

[3] *Antike Gemmen*, iii. p. 302; see *Arch. Journal*, viii. p. 36, and *Archaeologia*, xxviii. p. 436.

LION DEVOURING A DEER OR GOAT, FROM CORBRIDGE, NORTHUMBERLAND

claim to artistic distinction may be made by the mosaic pavements which are such a conspicuous feature of Roman remains in Britain, and the general artistic qualities of which we have already had occasion to discuss in Chapter v.

Even the local pottery is of a very inferior order of merit, and largely influenced by its Celtic ancestry. The ornamented red wares, formerly known as 'Samian,' are in almost all cases imported from Gaul, though this ware seems to have been sometimes locally imitated; and, apart from the New Forest potteries and the 'Upchurch ware,' found largely in the Kent marshes near the mouth of the Medway,[1] a variety of plain black or grey ware, the only centre of importance was Castor (Durobrivae) in Northamptonshire. Some of the pottery made here is not without merit; it is characterized by its black polished surface, sometimes assuming an almost metallic lustre, the decoration being either *en barbotine* (p. 167) or in thick white paint. The former process was not limited, as in other fabrics, to decorative patterns, but was used for figures of dogs and hares, and even for representing chariot-races, hunting scenes, and gladiatorial combats. Some of these designs are quite spirited, if somewhat hasty and careless; and though the Castor ware cannot compare favourably with the best products of the Gaulish or German potteries, it must not be ignored as a mere barbaric variety. As Professor Haverfield points out, 'Castor ware has its classical elements, but its treatment of details is rude. It shows the freedom which always characterizes the native handling of civilized material according to native artistic traditions. It is no formal or conventional imitation, but a recasting in accordance with the traditions of late Celtic art, a survival, amidst the finished conventional forms of Roman origin, of the rude yet genuinely artistic spirit of an earlier age.'[2] The same tendencies may be traced in the art of the Gaulish and early British coinage. Sculpture, mosaics, pottery, and metalwork alike, are all of interest to us as showing to what extent Roman ideas and Roman culture had permeated Southern Britain during the period of the Imperial dominion.

[1] It was probably not made locally, as no traces of kilns have been found; but it is not confined to this district, and may have been made in more than one centre, *e.g.* at Silchester.

[2] *Victoria County Hist. of Northants*, i. p. 212.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (TO A.D. 324)

B.C. 753. The Founding of Rome.
510. Expulsion of the Kings.
493. Temple of Ceres erected at Rome.
218-202. Second Punic War.
184. First Basilica erected by Cato.
168. Porticus of Cnaeus Octavius.
146. Destruction of Corinth by Mummius.
78. Erection of Tabularium at Rome, and of Temple of Fortuna Virilis.
72. Temple of Vesta or the Sibyl at Tivoli.
58. Theatre of C. Curio.
55. Theatre of Pompey.
44. Death of Julius Caesar.
42. Temple of Saturn rebuilt.
31. AUGUSTUS.
27. Pantheon first built by M. Vipsanius Agrippa.
13. Theatre of Marcellus.
10. *Ara Pacis Augustae* erected.
7. Temple of Concord rebuilt.
A.D. 4. Maison Carrée at Nismes.
6. Temple of Castor rebuilt.
14. TIBERIUS.
Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus.
37. CALIGULA.
41. CLAUDIUS.
43. Conquest of Britain by Agricola.
54. NERO.
63. First destruction of Pompeii.
68. GALBA.
69. OTHO.
VITELLIUS.
VESPASIAN.
70. Baths of Titus.
79. TITUS.
Eruption of Vesuvius; second destruction of Pompeii.
A.D. 81. DOMITIAN.
Arch of Titus.
82. Colosseum completed.
96. NERVA.
98. TRAJAN.
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117. Column and Arch of Trajan.
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